National Municipal Review

Vol. XXXII, No. 2 **Total Number 319**

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for February 1943

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

A YEAR OF PROGRESS 58

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE LEAGUE'S COUNCIL 59

POSTWAR PLANNING—AND PAYING, EDITORIAL .... *Wade S. Smith* 61

"MAKE NO SMALL PLANS" ..... *Charles E. Merriam* 63

THE CITY OF THE FUTURE ..... *Alvin H. Hansen* 68

ROCHESTER PLANS FOR PEACE ..... *Harold W. Sanford* 73

EDUCATION FOR THE POSTWAR WORLD ..... *R. J. Colbert* 77

ON THE LOCAL FRONT ..... *Zilpha C. Franklin* 83

THE RESEARCHER'S DIGEST: FEBRUARY 86

CONTRIBUTORS IN REVIEW 94

LETTER TO THE EDITOR 95

NEWS IN REVIEW 97

Editors: *H. M. Olmsted,* City, State, Nation, 97; *Elwood N. Thompson,* Citizen Action, 104; *Elwyn A. Mauck,* County and Township, 109; *Wade S. Smith,* Taxation and Finance, 112; *George H. Hallett, Jr.,* Proportional Representation, 115.

BOOKS IN REVIEW ..... *Elsie S. Parker* 118

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service,* the *Index to Legal Periodicals,* the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service.*

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

The League's Business

A Year of Progress

Report on League's Work in 1942 and Program for the Future

THE National Municipal League, which in 1944 will have completed fifty years of constructive service to the communities, taxpayers, and citizens of this country, was founded at a time when the conduct of government, notably in our cities, was wasting the substance and corrupting the civic morality of our people to an extent that would make today's most notorious examples pale into insignificance. The League was founded to provide cohesion and leadership for the then existing local civic organizations which were waging an unequal fight against plundering political machines.

During the intervening years many organizations have "lighted their little hour or two" with promises that they would obtain more government for less money. The League, meanwhile, has gone through two wars and part of a third, through periods of prosperity and depression, actually doing that impossible thing—winning better government for less money—for millions of people in hundreds of municipalities.

More important by far than the financial gains, however. has been the increasing effectiveness of the machinery of democracy. Through the principles and methods developed and advocated by the League democratic government has been made to work. Students of public affairs consistently describe the League as the leading force in this country for better government.

The League has been fortunate and unquestionably a large part of its success lies in the distinguished leadership it has always had among its officers and council.

Objectives are achieved by two chief methods: first, by setting standards and developing patterns; second, by applying these patterns and standards to specific situations which need them.

It was recognized at the outset that the mere advocacy of honesty and efficency in government would bring imperfect and transitory results. Therefore the League became known early for its sound contributions to the science of government management through the development of model laws and administrative systems the adoption of which insures progress which can be nailed down and which can withstand the assaults of those who oppose improvement.

These models have made it possible for hundreds of communities to have honest elections, sound budgets which control spending and encourage the integrity of officials, good administrative systems which attract the best men to public life instead of repelling them —in short, the League reduces to blueprints and specific guides the ideal that is called good government.

Significantly, more progress in the improvement of local government was made during this past war year than during any one of the half dozen preceding years, when measured by recognized standards.

There are several principal factors which appear to produce this somewhat unexpected situation:

Some communities, recalling the difficulties through which they went during the depression after the last war, are subjecting themselves to a searching

(Continued on Page 88)

Annual Meeting of the League's Council

Minutes and Resume: In place of the usual three-day National Conference on Government which has been attended by civic leaders and experts on government from all parts of the country for the last forty-nine years, the Council and officers of the National Municipal League met on December 22, 1942, at the Hotel St. Regis, New York, as dinner guests of Carl H. Pforzheimer, League treasurer and chairman of the Steering Committee. The Conference was dispensed with in compliance with the government's request that, because of the heavy wartime burden imposed on the nation's transportation facilities, conventions be foregone or of a limited nature.

Present were: Dr. George H. Gallup, vice-president; Carl H. Pforzheimer, treasurer; the following members of the Council: Richard S. Childs, chairman, George Arents, Carter W. Atkins, Frederick L. Bird, Philip Cornick, Rev. Edward Dowling, Arnold Frye, C. G. Hoag, John S. Linen, Ralph B. Maltby, Mark Matthews, Lawson Purdy, Norman S. Taber, Russell E. Watson, Richard Weil, Jr., and Howard P. Jones, secretary, and Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary.

The meeting was called to order by Mr. Pforzheimer who spoke briefly about the League's record of accomplishment in the improvement of local, county, and state government and the encouragement of a more enlightened and responsible citizenry and stressed the current and postwar need for the League's program.

Mr. Pforzheimer introduced Dr. George H. Gallup, vice-president. Dr. Gallup described the disturbing lack of information possessed by the average citizen concerning vital public problems which he has discovered in his capacity as director of the American Institute of Public Opinion and urged that this fact be recognized by the League's leaders as evidence of the continuing need for the League's work. He quoted from President Winant's message calling on the people to strengthen the home front "by being alert, active citizens in our own communities" and by supporting efforts to improve local government and citizenship.

Dr. Gallup called for five-minute addresses by the following members of the Council:

Dr. Frederick L. Bird, director of municipal research, Dun and Bradstreet. Dr. Bird spoke on "The Present Status of Municipal Finance," pointing out the dangers of the situation and advising that cities put their financial houses in order during the war period.

John S. Linen, second vice-president, Chase National Bank. Mr. Linen spoke on "The Tax Exemption of Municipal Bonds," recounting the steps which have been attempted to remove this exemption and holding that this should be done, if at all, only by the adoption of a constitutional amendment.

Arnold Frye, chairman of the League's Committee on a Model Fiscal Program. Mr. Frye reported that three of the model fiscal laws have been completed to the point of being ready for publication and that the Committee is at work on additional models. He said this program will be of outstanding importance in helping to enable local government to weather the uncertain postwar period.

Meeting of the Council

Richard S. Childs, chairman, presiding.

The Secretary's report was presented by Howard P. Jones, secretary, and Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary

The Nominating Committee's report

was presented by Dr. Frederick L. Bird, chairman. It designated for re-election: John G. Winant, president: Dr. George H. Gallup, vice-president; Carl H. Pforzheimer, treasurer; Howard P. Jones, secretary; and as new members of the Council: Henry Bruere, J. W. Clise, Gerard B. Lambert, Stratford Lee Morton.[1]

"The Metropolitan Areas Problem" was discussed by Philip H. Cornick of the Institute of Public Administration who, recalling that the League had pioneered in the study of this problem in 1930, warned that the problem has been greatly aggravated during the ensuing years and that, until effective remedies are applied, not only the central cities but also their suburbs will suffer increasing fiscal difficulties. Mr. Cornick said that the various efforts to cope with this problem have reached no constructive conclusions, that "an organization of citizens interested in good government provides the best hope" and that the League "has already demonstrated its capacity for constructive work in the field."

Wartime Citizens' Councils

Mr. Childs spoke briefly on the need for the creation of a model for "Wartime Citizens' Councils" as a timely version of the guides produced by the League during the depression when it served as headquarters for the National Federation of Citizens' Councils and guided several hundred local Citizens' Councils in their efforts to soften the depression's blow on their communities. Mr. Childs said federal and other agencies had not given sufficient specific assistance to enable the citizens of local communities to meet adequately their responsibilities in connection with the war. Moved and seconded that the chairman be authorized to appoint a committee to develop a model plan of organization for wartime citizens' councils. Adopted.

Mr. Pforzheimer presented the treasurer's report, setting forth the League's financial position and suggesting that its comparatively modest needs should be capable of being met by coöperative action by members of the Council and other League leaders. He reported that the C. F. Taylor Trust of Philadelphia has pledged $5,000 for 1943 on condition that an equal amount be obtained from new sources. Mr. Pforzheimer reported that Mr. J. W. Clise of Seattle, newly-elected member of the Council, has agreed to raise part of this amount in the Seattle area, and expressed confidence that other members of the Council would share that responsibility. The treasurer's report and the budget for 1943 were adopted.

Carter W. Atkins, member of the Council and director of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, described the method by which his organization has been financed and declared that the National Municipal League, with its outstanding record of encouraging progress in local affairs, should have increased financial support.

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY,
Executive Secretary

[1]For complete list of the League's Officers see the REVIEW for January, p. 2.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Postwar Planning – and Paying

PLANNING, for whatever purpose, is no simple matter. Postwar planning—or more precisely, planning to meet in an adequate manner the problems which we will face in a postwar world—is almost unbelievably complicated, as the articles in this issue make abundantly clear. Yet, as Dr. Merriam points out, if we do not plan now it will be too late.

It is fitting therefore that at this time, when a majority of the local governmental units of the United States have completed their immediate plans for the near future (their budgets for the 1943 fiscal year), the REVIEW should turn to a consideration of the longer haul.

In governmental planning, whether for war or peace, four more or less distinct steps are evident; first, determining the objectives to be accomplished; second, making the plan; third, adopting the plan; and finally, carrying out the plan.

A breakdown at any one of these four stages effectively vitiates the others, except to the extent that abandoned plans may prove historically useful to later planners. Unfortunately, and all too often, the problems of determining objectives, preparing the plan, and executing the plan, are child's play compared to that of getting the plan adopted. Not only must the public be informed and public opinion crystallized, but disastrous compromises must be avoided and adequate incentives provided which will impel all parties to the plan to undertake present labors whose fruits may be long delayed.

For the public as a whole, as the articles in this issue emphasize, the avoidance of postwar chaos and provision for an orderly transition from a war- to a peacetime footing, on a basis such as to afford to all men and women opportunity to realize the Four Freedoms of the Atlantic Charter, constitute a very real incentive to postwar planning now.

Plans are not formulated, adopted, and executed by the public as a whole, however. The process is a diverse one, comprehending not only all interests of our society but all levels of our government. And just as planning may fail because of weakness in determining objectives, or in making the plan, or in securing the requisite approval, or in executing the program correctly, so too the public as a whole may be cheated of the realization of a plan to which it gives general approval by failure of some segment of society or government to carry its share of the burden.

It is notable that in the articles here presented a rather general dependence is placed on the leadership of the federal government in planning, especially as the integrating authority. This is of course inevitable; essentially, it is what we have a federal government for.

Of equal significance, however, is

rather general dependence on the federal government as the source of funds to carry the plan into effect. Here, certainly, is a realm of planning which needs the closest study of planners, and especially at the local government level. For if the record of the last decade can teach us anything, it is that we need not repeat the makeshift, costly, and often blundering financial procedures followed during the last economic depression when we face the problems of a postwar era.

It is not only possible but necessary that our present plans for rehabilitation include both the broad principles and the more precise formulae which will permit us to determine equitably what share of the cost shall fall to the local units, what share to the states, and what share to the federal government. And not only what the share will be but how the money will be raised and how it will be administered.

A great deal of emphasis has been placed recently on the accumulation of public funds for postwar public works. It is indeed a healthy sign that a not inconsiderable number of our cities are now in a position of sufficient fiscal strength to make at least some provision for a future crisis. The fact that some cities are strong and enterprising enough to do this cannot obscure the fact, however, that many others cannot or will not unless a very strong incentive is provided.

One such incentive was suggested in a bill introduced in the closing days of the Seventy-seventh Congress, to be reintroduced by its sponsor, Congressman Alfred Beiter of New York, which would provide a special series of Treasury war savings bonds for local governments priced and redeemable at values to yield 3½ to 4 per cent, rates sufficiently above the market to represent a tangible subsidy to those cities which undertake the present accumulation of funds for postwar purposes.[1]

Other incentives can be provided, especially if the federal government were now to make known the terms upon which it proposes to render financial assistance for postwar public works programs. The important thing is for us to recognize that while the planning engineers, the sociologists, and the industrial experts are drawing their blueprints of the future, local government must be laying its financial plans, integrated to the necessities of the program and gauged to the capacity of each individual community.

WADE S. SMITH

[1]See also p. 113.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

"Make No Small Plans"

The new city is on the way; it will not be built by timid tinkering with old models but will be part of a new streamlined civilization built on a modern model.

By CHARLES E. MERRIAM
National Resources Planning Board

WITHIN the last year some basic decisions have been made regarding planning.

First is the great decision that we must consider postwar problems now.

Second, we must "plan" our course of action for this period. Who shall do the "planning," public or private agencies, central or local agencies? The answer is, all of them, working in coöperation to produce an integrated program of effort.

Third, we must think of "planning" in terms of national income and national resources, of an expanding national economy, of full employment, and finally in terms of putting an end to want and fear, of spelling out our democratic daily life.

There are those who contend that we should not plan now, but should wait until the war is over. To wait until the end of the war will be to wait until it is too late.

Some may say: "How can you know, in view of the uncertainty of world affairs, about the time and terms of peace; how can you know what to plan for?" We must plan for a variety of contingencies and then hope to be ready to meet whatever comes. We do not know when the war will end or where the treaty of peace will be signed, or what its terms will be. We do know, however, many of the conditions we must face, no matter what the precise outcome of the struggle or when. We know that one-half of our national income must be drawn back into the channels of peace. We know that military and civilian demobilization is ahead of us, industrial conversion, extensive reorganization of industries and areas and interests of many kinds. North, South, East and West—we know that unemployment and depression will be ready to assail us again. We know that it is possible to maintain a national income of around a hundred billions, and to establish standards of living in accordance with this national level of productivity—or to slump back to forty billions.

The state of the world at large is difficult to prognosticate, but we count upon a jural order of mankind from which the shadow of military aggression will be removed. We reckon that the United Nations and others may live in peace with each other for an indefinite period. The Atlantic Charter points the way to general justice, peace, and prosperity.

All the principal countries engaged in the military struggle now going on are considering their postwar plans. In the midst of this gigantic effort they are allotting money and men to work out programs which they hope to put into effect when the war is over. This list includes England, Canada, Australia, New

Zealand, China, Belgium, Holland, Russia. The enemy powers, particularly Germany and Japan, are busy with schemes not only for international conquest but for internal arrangements. If we wish to win the peace as well as the war, the United States must likewise devote a part of its energies to considering next steps. But it is a tragic truth that most nations, while ready to prepare to some extent for war, have not been willing to take the time to prepare for peace. Hence the gains of war have often been lost in the confusion of the peace.

NRPB a Clearing House

Early in 1941 President Roosevelt requested the National Resources Planning Board to serve as a clearing house for postwar planning, to bring together plans and programs under consideration in many federal, state, local, and private organizations for postwar full employment, security, and the building of America. Since that time postwar planning agencies have sprung up on every hand.[1]

The State Department, the Board of Economic Warfare, the Coördinator of Inter-American Affairs, and various other agencies are dealing primarily with international aspects of the problem. Many other agencies of the government, among them labor, agriculture, social security, housing, are engaged in the national aspects of the problem. These planning groups are brought together from time to time under the auspices of the National Resources Planning Board for interchange of ideas and programs and the consideration of special problems.

A number of states led by Massachusetts and New York are actively engaged in the preparation of postwar reserves and in preparing plans in some detail for use particularly in the field of public works in the postwar period. It is probable that by the end of the state legislative sessions of 1943 the bulk of the states will have taken steps in this direction.

Individual cities are also considering their future after the war. Notable among these is Cleveland, Ohio, which has reorganized its City Plan Commission under the leadership of former Councilman Ernest Bohn and has entered actively into the planning of the future of the Cleveland industrial and social area. Other cities are considering similar lines of approach to the problems which the war effort has brought closer home to them. It is probable that in a short time a large number of urban communities will have entered on the active canvassing of the difficulties arising when the war is over and constructive ways of reorganization to meet the new crisis. These cities will be considering not only the older type of city plan but the social and industrial welfare of their whole metropolitan areas.

There are many private organizations now in the field of postwar planning. Notable among these is the National Planning Association of which Charles E. Wilson, president

[1] A list of these agencies has been prepared by the Twentieth Century Fund under the title *Postwar Planning in the United States.*

of the General Electric Company, is chairman. Another is the important Committee on Economic Development of which Paul Hoffman, president of the Studebaker Corporation, is chairman. The latter group is considering the postwar period primarily, although not exclusively, from the point of view of private industry. The Twentieth Century Fund is devoting a considerable part of its income to postwar questions and under the leadership of Stuart Chase is carrying on and developing a program of interpretation and of education. Many other groups, far too numerous to mention here, are dealing with one phase or another of the same broad problem.

Labor and agriculture as well as industry are seriously concerned and are looking forward to coming events when the national economy must be changed from a wartime to a peacetime basis. These groups are developing broad programs for the postwar period.

Board Studies Problem

The National Resources Planning Board, while engaged in the task of clearing the plans of the several agencies and institutions, has also made a contribution of its own. In broadest terms it has pointed out that never before in the history of mankind has there been an opportunity to combine the elements of

(1) Universal peace,
(2) Democracy, and
(3) Development of a dynamic economy.

The Board believes that it should be the policy of the United States government to promote and maintain a high level of national production and consumption by all appropriate measures necessary for this purpose. The board further believes that it should be our policy:

(1) To underwrite full employment for all employables;

(2) To guarantee a job for every man released by the armed forces and the war industries at the close of the war with fair pay and working conditions;

(3) To provide equal access to security for all, equal access to education for all, equal access to health and nutrition for all, wholesome housing conditions for all.

This policy grows directly out of President Roosevelt's statement of the Four Freedoms and the application of these freedoms and the NRPB's statement of their practical application in a modern Bill of Rights.[2]

In broad outline we must prepare:

(1) Plans for transition from war to peace;

(2) Plans for development of an expanding economy, maintaining our national income at around one hundred billions;

(3) Plans for services and security, covering the essential needs of our people;

(4) Plans for coöperative action by state and local governments and regions.

Under the first head are included demobilization of men and women from the armed forces and war industries; the demobilization and conversion of war plants, machines, and war contracts; and the demobilization of wartime economic controls.

Under the second head are plans for financing and fiscal policies in

[2]See *National Resources Development, Report for 1942.*

the postwar period. Included here are also a wide range of public works, urban and transportation programs, and longtime development of energy resources and of land and water—all for the purpose of "building America."

Under the head of services and security are wide ranging plans for development of service agencies, including health, nutrition, and education. Along with this come sweeping plans for underwriting employment for all employable persons.

We must also deal with plans for action by state and local governments either alone or in coöperation with other agencies. The Board is also concerned with plans for regional development in the nine regions in the United States which contain representatives of the NRPB.[3]

We must also deal with ways and means of governmental and administrative implementation in dealing effectively with the wide range of problems which must be considered in postwar times. Legislation will be required to give authority for the exercise of powers adequate to guide the progress from war status to peace status. Sound administrative organization also must be provided to insure careful exercise of this legislative authority and to insure an orderly arrangement of such fiscal, economic, and social controls built up in the war but requiring outright repeal or modification under peace conditions. It is clear that extremely careful preparation is an essential at this point as at any other. In fact it is of paramount importance that administration during the period of reorientation should be characterized by extraordinary prudence and tact.

[3]Typical of the reports on these regions is one recently issued on the possible development of the Arkansas Valley Region. These reports are based on the collection and analysis of data during the last nine years and are supported by the reports of consultants and advisors.

Challenge to Cities

American cities are now challenged as never before. Shall cities consider the planning problems of their metropolitan areas in broad terms of urban redevelopment and general welfare? Or shall cities let the world go by? Shall cities take the lead in the high enterprise of the postwar period without waiting for the federal government to take the initiative in local problems? Or shall urban communities wash their hands of responsibility?

It is my conclusion that we are on the verge of a new era in city development which might bring about the broad improvements in urban life for which some of us have dreamed and fought for so many years—a period of vibrant, dynamic development.

All this would demand a new focusing of city interest far broader than the older city planning, reconsideration and reorganization of urban experience and problems, new inventions for urban advantage, new programs for sounder urban living, a new mustering of citizen interest in their common affairs.

There is reason to believe that many cities will rise to this new situation, which raises urban problems to a far higher and more difficult level than ever before. Perhaps

this crisis may inspire that broad popular interest, that unfaltering determination, that higher statesmanship of which great programs of achievement are made.

Our cities have advanced a long way in the last generation, but we still fall far short of what might be done if there were the will to do. City government has not seemed important enough to arouse untiring interest throughout the community. Some fled to the suburbs, some bought their way along, some blamed the whole mess on "wicked fellows"—scapegoats for general indifference, some inaugurated the replanning of only the physical structure of the city. But now with modern transportation, modern communications, modern technology, the modern sense of social responsibility, modern demand for a fair share of the gains of an advancing civilization, we may expect a new day for the cities.

The New City Looms

Now it becomes crystal clear that cities are concerned not only with streets and alleys, but with real estate values, industrial expansion, housing, redevelopment plans on a large scale, employment, and broad ranges of community living. It now becomes clear that city plans can contribute to and fit in with regional and national planning, and indeed must do so if cities are to become vital factors in building America during the next generation.

The new city is on the way. But those who try to put new wine into old bottles will be doomed to futility and disappointment. The new city will not be built by timid tinkering with old models, but will be part of a new streamlined postwar civilization built on a modern model. In this era the ideals of democracy, liberty, equality, and justice will be spelled out in the daily lives of men and women. An economy expanding in what would have been thought fantastic a hundred years ago will make this possible.

To the city builders of the future we may cite again the words of the pioneer planner Burnham: "Make no small plans. They have no magic in them to stir men's blood."

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

The City of the Future

Any attempt to grasp the problem in its entirety leads to the conclusion that most of the towns and cities must be replanned and largely rebuilt.

By ALVIN H. HANSEN
Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University

EVERY student of municipal problems knows that by and large our American cities and towns have drifted into a situation, both physically and financially, that has become intolerable. He knows moreover that their plight is getting progressively worse, chiefly because there has been little or no collective control applied to their development to make it conform to the best interests of the community as a whole.

First came development of a downtown business center surrounded by residential neighborhoods, then growth of the business area and movement of the residential area farther out, infiltration of miscellaneous business and industry and the deterioration of residential areas, finally, in self-defense, zoning. But almost invariably the interior areas have been overzoned for commercial uses. Owners have not infrequently held on to their properties in the expectation that the land would be needed for skyscrapers.

Meanwhile, with the advent of rapid transit in general and the automobile in particular, the population began to move to the suburbs. Then began the spread, around the business centers and subcenters, of widening zones of blight. In many communities blight now covers between a quarter and a half of the area within the city limits. Taxes continue on high assessments based on the assumption of intensive business use. Tax delinquencies occur and occasionally the city takes over; in some instances the problem of delinquency has got so far out of control that municipal authorities in effect throw up their hands. Nobody can seriously consider using the blighted land for new improvements because the values still placed upon it, and the prices demanded, are so high that a new enterprise would be hopelessly handicapped by financial charges from the start.

Any attempt to grasp the problem in its entirety leads to the conclusion that most of the towns and cities must be replanned and largely rebuilt. And since more than half the population of the country lives in them, their predicament is an increasingly grave menace to the economic and social health of the nation.

Heretofore, most students of the problem have taken one look at the magnitude of the job to be done and given up in despair. They have done so, I think, principally because they have been thinking in terms of money rather than of real capacity to get things done, in terms of orthodox finance rather than of men and materials and organization. The financial and fiscal problems are, however, quite manageable and need not

deter us from doing what needs to be done.

The large-scale replanning and rebuilding of our towns and cities is one of the most urgent tasks of the postwar future. It is something that must be undertaken on a substantial scale after the war, irrespective of the needs of the rest of the economy. Nevertheless, it can and should be planned and programmed so as to provide a high degree of flexibility in both time and space.

Blueprint for the Future

On the basis of thoroughgoing research and study, to determine the long-run role of each urban community in its immediate region and its state as well as in the country as a whole, there would be drawn up a master plan. This should cover not only the entire urbanized area but also as much of the surrounding country as is estimated to be required for the future growth or development of the community and for its proper planning. The plan should be made with the view to ultimately achieving an ideal physical layout. To this end everything in the existing city or town should be disregarded except such physical conditions and structures as are universally agreed to be permanent in the sense that they are expected to endure for generations.

Worked out for the entire area would be a complete land-use pattern. This would include the location of industry, commerce, public service structures of all kinds, parks and playgrounds, and the various types of residential use. In particular it would determine the maximum permissible population density—number of persons working or of families living, per acre—in each sub-area. Then, on the basis of these determinations plus estimates of the movement of people and things within the urbanized area, would be planned the coördinated system of transportation and terminals—so developed in connection with the land-use pattern that traffic congestion and the nuisance of vehicles parked in the streets could not occur.

Out of this master planning operation for each urban community would come a great map (or a number of overlay maps) indicating what are now considered the long-range goals of physical layout and arrangement. Provision would be made for subsequent modifications in response to unforeseen future developments or imperfectly understood conditions later seen to require change. The master plan for each community would thus define as clearly as humanly possible the ultimate goals to be achieved twenty or thirty or fifty years hence, as rapidly as resources—in productive capacity rather than money—would permit without undue deprivation in terms of current needs for consumption and the other requirements of the community and the nation.

Over against the master plan would be a map showing in detail actual conditions in the town or city. On it, or on enlarged sections of it, would be indicated all the construction projects required eventually to bring the whole community into conformity with the master plan. It

is in this operation that the really big and complicated job of planning and programming must be undertaken.

In a large city the number of individual projects might be expected to run into the thousands. They will vary, moreover, from small jobs of construction requiring only a few weeks and costing comparatively small sums, to large undertakings involving extensive demolition, re-arrangement of streets, arterial highways, relocation and reconstruction of terminals, and so on, some of them requiring years for completion and costing millions of dollars.

Probably it will prove advisable for each community to prepare fully worked out plans on the basis of programs extending for from five to ten years into the future. These plans should be reviewed and revised from year to year when necessary and drawn with the view to advancing towards and harmonizing with programs conceived for much longer future periods but in less specific terms.

Particularly important is a solution of the problem of land use and population density, for all the subareas within the area to be planned. Overcrowding and congestion are to be eliminated and in future avoided. This means in the first place that ample space must be provided, off the streets, for the parking of all motor vehicles coming into town and stopping—for any period from ten minutes to all day—and perhaps for small airplane landing fields as well. It means in the second place that in all residential neighborhoods there shall be plenty of open space for light and air. It means finally that, except for such of the population without young children as prefer to live in multi-family structures, every dwelling unit must have some plot of ground of its own. If the urban communities are to be expected to maintain their population without dependence on immigration from rural areas, people must have places where they can raise their families in decency and health.

There is good reason to believe that the planning for population densities and for the internal transportation system should be carried out as complementary parts of the same process.

The Basic Pattern

When the main arteries of transport and the terminal facilities of an urban community are located and planned, the basic physical pattern of the town will have been fixed. Consequently, at this stage of the replanning process, all possible aid from outside sources should be obtained, notably from state highway departments and the federal Public Roads Administration.

In order to get plenty of elbow room in the interior of the city, two great obstacles, hitherto insuperable, will have to be removed. The first is the lack of adequate legal power on the part of the local governments to control the use of their land areas. The remedy of course will involve far-reaching changes in state laws—changes which can be brought about mainly by the pressure of public opinion resulting from the first step in the program I have outlined.

Excess Land Values

The second obstacle is of a financial character. To remove it involves a problem of peculiar difficulty and one which is already the subject of much controversy. Essentially it is the problem of how to get rid of the excess when present valuations of the land and buildings in blighted and slum areas are higher than the valuation which would be justified for the new use of the land in accordance with a sound master plan. Present valuations are the result of market prices (often of prices demanded but not offered), of mortgage loans outstanding, of decisions of the taxing authorities, of court decisions, and so on. Usually they are so high, frequently because of previous overzoning for business uses, that redevelopment by private or public enterprise for the best use in the interest of the community as a whole is out of the question. Moreover, they are a serious obstacle in the way of a real solution of the problem of urban housing. Blighted areas are for the most part admirably located for residential use; usually they are needed for nothing else. But they must be so used at a much lower population density than before if their future re-deterioration into blight is to be avoided and this will be impossible until their excessive valuations are drastically lowered.

In a proposal outlined by Mr. Guy Greer and myself this prickly problem of land valuations is flatly asserted to be one which only society as a whole can cope with. We argue that the passage of laws radical enough to squeeze out quickly the whole of these excesses of valuation would be politically impossible, and of doubtful desirability even if possible. Society as a whole, we submit, is mainly responsible for the conditions existing, and society as a whole should pay the cost of cleaning them up so that a fresh start can be made. The problem is not unlike that confronting Alexander Hamilton when he proposed the assumption by the federal government of the states' Revolutionary debts.

This does not mean that reckless overvaluations should be allowed, either by the courts in condemnation proceedings or by the duly constituted agencies of the local governments in purchasing blighted and slum properties. On the contrary, every proper means should be employed, both in court action and in bargaining with the owners, to acquire title to the land in question at prices as low as possible. Already the actual market—where there is any—does in many cases take account of true conditions and prospects in the area; and certainly the valuations allowed should not be permitted to rise by reason of the redevelopment program. It would be difficult to justify forcing them lower than the actual market, however, through action by the community as a whole in reallocating the use of a large portion of its entire land area, for it could be convincingly argued that this would be destroying values, in the public interest, without just compensation.

If we assume that land in blighted and slum areas is bought up by the local governments—with such finan-

cial aid from the federal government as is necessary—there can be no doubt that one of the greatest single obstacles to the eventual realization of a sound master plan would be removed. Such land could then be put to its best possible use in the interest of the whole community, without regard to the acquisition cost of any particular parcel. Some of it would be required, no doubt, for the development of the transportation and terminal system. Some would be needed for parks and playgrounds. The bulk of it, though, would probably be available for housing—for everything from high-priced apartments to low-rent dwellings. And for such uses it could be offered for lease; on terms favorable enough to attract private developers or, if deemed desirable, to local public housing authorities. The ground rents would be based not on acquisition costs but on the value estimated to be realizable from the new use.

Mr. Greer and I have proposed federal financial aid because we are convinced that, under existing conditions, most of the towns and cities would be unable to raise the money required. More specifically, we envisage a procedure somewhat as follows: For every town or city in the country—or for every group of contiguous municipalities—a long-range master plan would be completed in broad outline for the entire metropolitan area. It would be formally submitted to the appropriate federal agency in connection with an application for financial aid in the acquisition of all the real property within a clearly defined slum or blighted area. For each such area and the immediate surroundings, the planning would have to be not only complete and in accordance with the master plan, but it should also be accompanied by the data necessary to justify all assumptions as to future changes. Definitely indicated would be the proposed use of every square foot of the area; such use would be determined without regard to acquisition cost of the land. In other words, the acquisition would be a by-product of the job of clearing away the obstacles to redevelopment: in arriving at a decision as to its subsequent use, the land should be deemed to have cost nothing.

Decision as to acquisition, as well as to future kind of use, should be by the planning agency for the metropolitan area, not by the local housing authority because the considerations involved would be far broader than housing alone.

Upon approval by the appropriate federal agency of all aspects of a proposal to acquire property, the government would be prepared to advance funds, if need be, up to the entire cost of acquisition. Repayment of the sums so advanced should be made as far as possible. In view of the fiscal position of most municipalities, however, there are strong reasons for requiring them to pay back to the federal government only sums obtained from leasing the land after deduction of local taxes.

It is of course true that the fiscal relations of the federal government

(Continued on Page 82)

Rochester Plans for Peace

What we need is better understanding of the problems and larger areas of agreement on essentials; Rochester and Monroe County folks at least are making a beginning on this idea.

By HAROLD W. SANFORD, Editor
Rochester Democrat and Chronicle

CITIZENS of Rochester, New York, have a habit of working together on community and other problems. The tradition is at least a quarter-century old, and has had varied expressions. Working together means that on most questions practical areas of agreement are discovered, and many community enterprises and contributions to state and national situations are made with substantial backing, a backing that cuts through every recognizable replica of what in some communities are set off as separate religious, social, or economic groups.

Just now, having set a high mark in its war effort—its industries were among the first to receive E recognition from government agencies, its Red Cross organization is one of the best in the country, its War and Community Chest is the medium of notably large contributions to war and local philanthropic causes, its war bond purchases are well ahead of every roughly assigned quota—Rochester is turning its attention to postwar problems.

Organization was announced in mid-November of a Council on Postwar Problems, Rochester and Monroe County. At Thanksgiving time a conference on international postwar problems gave impetus to the formation, now in process, of an additional Rochester group to study world and national situations in the framework of which the community must meet its own postwar situations and contribute to the solution of the wider problems.

The community postwar council is representative both of Monroe County and of the city which comprises 75 per cent of the county's population and 80 per cent of its taxable resources. The idea for its formation was first developed at a conference of representatives of some twenty-five local civic, social, religious, and business organizations called June 1, 1942, by L. Dudley Field, then president of the Chamber of Commerce. An organization committee appointed at that time named an executive committee, which in turn announced the personnel of the Council at the November organization meeting.

The Council's personnel is a guarantee to the Rochester public that it is truly representative of every important interest in the community. Joint chairmen are Dr. Alan Valentine, president of the University of Rochester, and Marion B. Folsom, treasurer of the Eastman Kodak Company. Members include industrial leaders, heads of the A. F. of L. and CIO, the Mayor and President of the County Board of Supervisors, the city and county managers, the Catholic and Episcopalian bishops,

President of the Federation of Churches, heads of leading women's and young people's organizations, recognized Democrats and Republicans, leading professional men.

The Council's program of action is officially stated as follows:

> First, to become informed regarding the present status of the community in regard to its governmental, economic, and social organization. It is obvious that solutions to specific postwar problems can be studied only in relation to the whole structure of the community. This fact necessitates efforts by the Council to understand at least the broad outlines of the inter-relations of the many agencies and institutions operating within the area.
>
> Second, to estimate and forecast as accurately as possible the effect of the war and the peace upon the organization of the community.
>
> Third, to formulate and study certain specific postwar problems of community organization and adjustment, which can be clearly foreseen as arising locally out of the war situation.
>
> Fourth, to arrive at definite proposals for solution to the problems stated, to be submitted for consideration and action either to the public generally or to groups and agencies primarily affected.

The Council will operate this program through three principal committees, each composed of both members and non-members of the Council, one concerned with governmental organization, one with economic organization, and one with social organization. The Committee on Governmental Organization will be under the chairmanship of Byron A. Johnson, assisted by the Bureau of Municipal Research; the Committee on Economic Organization will be under the chairmanship of L. Dudley Field, assisted by the Rochester Chamber of Commerce; the Committee on Social Organization will be under the chairmanship of Gilbert J. C. McCurdy, assisted by the Council of Social Agencies. Each of these committees will doubtless be divided into a number of subcommittees.

The chairmen of these three committees, together with the following five citizens will constitute the executive committee of the Council: Bernard E. Finucane, Marion B. Folsom, Norman A. O'Brien, Mrs. Harper Sibley, and Alan Valentine. The Council will be under the co-chairmanship of Dr. Valentine and Mr. Folsom.

At this time it is possible to forecast only in a general way the questions and problems which should receive the Council's attention. The following statement from Mr. Johnson suggests some of the problems to be considered by the Committee on Governmental Organization.

> At least two problems of governmental organization can now be visualized. First, local government should be prepared to meet any possible decline in employment with a well considered and carefully planned program of essential public works. Second, it is reasonable to expect that at the close of the war there will be further and perhaps accentuated migration of the population into the surrounding area of the county. In anticipation of such a possible movement, it is imperative that the structure and functions of the agencies of local government be re-examined and proposals for reorganization and readjustment be prepared.

Mr. Field, referring to the economic aspects of the program said:

> The Committee on Economic Organization will concern itself with the broad objective of the maintenance of employment and of the problems such as retraining of workers, reconversion of plant and equipment, development of new products, utilization of new manufacturing methods and new raw materials, development of new markets and new marketing methods, and the financing of reconversion.

Mr. McCurdy, commenting on the problems of social organization, outlines its program thus:

> The Committee on Social Organization will concern itself with the problems of child and family welfare, of health, recreation, education, and religion. If we consider, for example, the effect of the war program on youth through the speeding up of the educational process, we may well imagine the problems that will have to be met in returning to peacetime procedures in this field alone at the close of hostilities. The dislocation of family life brought about by the war will necessitate careful planning on the part of social agencies.
>
> What preparations should be made now in the field of public health to meet the situations that will arise in wartime and upon the return of peace?
>
> What special steps, if any, should be taken by character-building and religious organizations to minimize and to overcome the harmful effects of the war on individuals and families?
>
> These and many other related questions will receive the attention of the Committee on Social Organization.

It is understood that in its efforts to carry out this program, the Council will solicit the aid and coöperation of every other appropriate agency and institution in this area. Especial care will be taken not to duplicate the efforts or over-ride the jurisdiction of any other existing group or organization.

Council's Approach

The Council will be little in the limelight in the next few months. It was not formed for publicity purposes. When any of its studies jell sufficiently to warrant public attention they will be explained and discussion invited. The Council is not formed to impose anything on the community but to make a practical approach on the basis of which public discussion and eventual action can be profitably undertaken.

Mr. Folsom, one of the co-chairmen, is well known for his activities as a member of Presidential advisory commissions on social security and on similar New York State commissions. He was chairman of the citizens committee which sponsored the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League which met in Rochester in 1937. He is a member of the national manufacturers' committee which is considering postwar employment and marketing plans. Thus he will bring to the Rochester discussions the national settings which will condition the community's own efforts and in turn be affected by what local studies may offer to other communities throughout the country.

It is evident that leaders and members of the Council feel that the Rochester community should go as far as it can in planning to meet its own problems, thereby defining the margin that will require state or national assistance, and making the best

possible use of such assistance as may be offered or accepted.

Needless to say, the two Gannett newspapers in Rochester, each of which has a historic separate identity, are coöperating. Mr. Gannett himself is a member of the Council, so also are the editors responsible for the editorial policies of the two newspapers.

International Problems

Rochester's contribution to consideration of postwar national and international problems came into focus at a two-day conference, November 27 and 28, suggested by the State War Council. At an evening meeting Professor Clyde Eagleton discussed the nature of the war and the implications of an attempt to establish better conditions for peace. His suggestion of caution, considering that such agencies as an international police force might be used against the United States, met the Rochester attitude of studying all phases of any plan. His declaration that the United States must be willing to spend as much for postwar peace efforts as it is on the war effort also was understood.

On the second day the conference divided into two groups: one to consider issues of international political organization, the other to discuss issues of international economic organization. The general attitude was that both fields must be practically approached. No set plan could be formulated at the outset, but the objectives to be sought must be clearly visualized and methods of approach carefully weighed by reference to experiences since Versailles; national, regional, and international situations must be unblinkingly appraised.

Rochester some years ago had a World Court Committee on which leading citizens, both Republican and Democratic, pro-League and anti-League, were represented. It is probable that as a result of the November conference and others being held periodically some such broadly representative local group will be formed. Its objects and policies, those now interested hope, will be similar to the objects and policies of the council on local postwar problems: to make the problems better understood, to explore various suggestions for approaching their solution, but not to go all out for any particular scheme.

If this writer may be pardoned a personal comment, he would suggest that we have had, both nationally and internationally, too much battling for particular schemes. The postwar situation is too serious, too full of implications for all the peoples of whatever community or nation, to warrant waste efforts on doctrinaire argument. What we need is better understanding of the problems and larger areas of agreement on essentials. If these can be even measurably achieved, details of method will be easier to discover. Rochester and Monroe County folks at least are making a beginning on this idea.

Education for the Postwar World

It is a responsibility of education not only to aid the war effort but to lose no time in leading the public to prepare the way for a lasting peace.

By R. J. COLBERT
University of Wisconsin

WHILE there are some who insist that postwar planning can wait until the war is won, thinking people recognize the wisdom of preparing for inevitable adjustments. Indeed, many still have a vivid memory of the baffling problems faced by American communities at the close of World War I because they failed to plan.

"In time of war prepare for peace" is the slogan of statesmen, and of educators. There is no stronger support to the nation's morale than the development of sound postwar plans and programs which create a confidence in the future and quiet the anxiety and dread of "After the war, what?"

The problems of readjustment and rehabilitation following in the wake of this war are bound to be both extensive and intensive. They will be local, state, national—and very much international—in scope. They will be political, economic, social, psychological, legal, and educational, in nature. Furthermore, they will be conditioned by the duration of the conflict.

While it is impossible to blueprint the future entirely, it is possible to anticipate many eventualities. It is therefore important that we prepare now to meet them. Without carefully considered plans and programs, all shaped in the light of the best and most complete knowledge of the postwar world, we cannot expect anything but political and economic chaos—an isolationist's heyday!

But before plans and programs can safely be made, the American public must be given the necessary information and the opportunity to hammer out the sort of public opinion that will build and carry them out. Americans must make up their minds as to what kind of a world they want to live in and pass on to their children. America failed miserably in this responsibility in World War I. This explains why a minority of jealous, low-visioned, selfish isolationists in the United States Senate were able to sabotage a lasting peace. There was not sufficient enlightened public opinion then to create sound postwar adjustments at home, and therefore nothing to contribute toward building a secure world order.

Will Americans permit this tragedy to happen again? The laying of the foundations for sound and effective public opinion is fundamentally the job of education. It is therefore a responsibility of education—and of educators—not only to aid in every way possible, directly and indirectly, the war effort, but to lose no time in leading the public to prepare the way for peace—a lasting peace!

The schools, from kindergartens to

post-graduate schools, must share this great task of preparing the oncoming youth to cope with the demands of the new era. It will no doubt call for considerable revision of the content and the emphasis in the subject matter taught. It will require thoughtful consideration of the attitudes created in the minds of youth—attitudes toward their responsibilities as citizen-stockholders in their community, their state, their nation, and in the organization of the postwar world. Only by expanding our loyalty to the point where we can build and support a World Order—whether a League of Nations or a World Union—can we ever hope "to reduce standing armies and promote world peace."

More Adult Education

But this task of preparing the public to meet the adjustments of a postwar world is by no means limited to the teaching and inspiring of youth; indeed, it is even more the job of adult education. Thinking men and women of every community in the United States, rural and urban, must be reached and helped to hammer out their plans and their convictions for postwar adjustments—through the press, by the radio, but perhaps even more by organized discussion groups, round-tables, town hall meetings, and forums.

Already leading educators and other public-spirited citizens are getting set to help develop the plans and programs to facilitate the change-over after the war, and to insure the United States her just share in the building of ample safeguards to world peace. The Twentieth Century Fund has listed over a hundred national public and private organizations and agencies devoting considerable attention to study of the problems of postwar adjustment. All such information should now become the basis for widespread public discussion in order that the American public will be prepared psychologically, socially, economically, and politically for its rightful participation in the postwar world.

As has already been said, the future cannot be blueprinted, but some of the major certainties that lie ahead can be anticipated.

1. Demobilization of Our Armed Forces

Demobilization of the men in our armed forces is likely to be the first thought of the public as soon as hostilities cease. "Get the boys back home!" will no doubt be the vote-getting slogan of politicians in the first postwar election. But much needs to be done in preparation for this happy time, if unfortunate and critical economic and social conditions are to be averted, and full justice done to the men who have borne the brunt of the conflict.

It is not a question of "getting back" to a prewar social, economic, and political outlook, which will, for the most part, have disappeared. The agencies charged with postwar planning recognize this fact. They also know that a large proportion of the men of our armed forces are receiving technical training and having experiences that should be of value in the postwar world.

The national government will have a major role in setting up the agencies to facilitate postwar adjustments of service men. Many of the agencies are now set up and serving our war effort. Nevertheless, a most important part of the demobilization adjustment must be recognized as a responsibility of the states and their local communities. Disaster cannot be avoided if the communities fail to prepare to do their part. The educational problem created by demobilization is therefore a double-edged one:

(1) Giving to the able-bodied service men, perhaps while they are still in uniform, opportunity for further education and training to fit them for occupations in the postwar society; and for the men who have been disabled, suitable rehabilitation, both physical and occupational. All this will mean that every department of our universities, vocational schools, and university extension divisions will need to plan to meet this primary American obligation.

(2) Providing the communities of the state with an adult education program such as will develop full community coöperation in the interest of the returned service men. This will involve attention to psychological problems quite as much as to the economic, social, and political problems. There is not much justice or sanity in giving returned service men a noisy homecoming, if there is nothing but unemployment and apologies awaiting him after the homecoming feast is over.

2. Postwar Economic Adjustments

Postwar economic adjustments, if carefully planned, will go far in easing the demobilization problem. The millions of new war workers, who under ordinary circumstances would not be gainfully employed, are not going to be ready to "get off the labor market." Many such workers have acquired skills and demonstrated abilities that are hard to replace.

The shift from production of war equipment and supplies to the production of the things needed by a war-shattered world will take time, even with the most careful planning. The shifts in the working population will hardly be less problematic, and may be further complicated by vast population movements throughout the world. The United States doubtless will need to stand by many of the impoverished regions of the world until they are able to travel under their own power. But we cannot expect this emergency period to last long, and our economy must be planned accordingly.

Make Programs Now

We may reasonably expect vast new economic developments, all of which will tend to intensify the need for a closer and more stable world order. With these new developments we can reasonably expect extensive modifications in every department of our economic life—agricultural, industrial, commercial, public and private. But the outlook need not be a gloomy one unless we fail in preparing ourselves and have no plans or programs ready when the war ends. Here again, we may expect our national government to take the lead in facilitating the transition, by

scientific planning, in coöperation with the several regions and states and with other countries.

But again, even the best of government planning is bound to fail unless the local communities learn their responsibilities and opportunities. How shall these local communities get the information, the understanding, and the inspiration necessary to see clearly their role in this postwar economy? This is an immediate and imperative obligation of our universities, of education in general, and of adult education in particular! Our civic organizations can and should be of great help. It is not enough that trained minds be recruited to draft master plans and programs; it is quite as important that equally well trained and skilled teachers prepare our local communities, rural and urban, for their role in the very different and much larger postwar economic world.

3. Postwar Social Adjustments

Postwar social adjustments can also, in large measure, be anticipated. To no small extent they will reflect the degree of effectiveness of the economic adjustments. But no matter how fortunate our economic changes may be, there are always severe social problems that result from war; and never before did war affect so many people.

In these matters, as in economic adjustments, we dare no longer think only of our own social problems. We cannot hope to isolate ourselves from the tragedy and misery of the war-blighted areas of the world. Consequently, while planning our own postwar social adjustments, we must plan to share in the social reconstruction of the poor, tired, and much discouraged victims of war all over the world—throughout Europe, in Russia, in China, in the Philippines, and in the lands "down under."

The war has already drained many of our communities of their physicians, surgeons, nurses, and trained social workers, but we can expect a further drain when it becomes possible to relieve the suffering in those unhappy countries. The United States cannot escape the role of the Good Samaritan in the postwar world.

Unprecedented Social Problems

But great as our sympathy may be for those suffering abroad, we need to give careful thought to the preparation for meeting the social situation at home, in our own state and in our own community. We can expect unprecedented problems of child welfare, and, too, almost as complicated problems of family rehabilitation. Our problems of health, as we have just inferred, will continue to require increased organized effort. Social security aids will rise as economic pressures again compel the elderly workers to accept retirement. Public works will need to have careful social planning in order effectively to prevent a return to the poor relief rolls of thousands of marginal workers who found employment in war industry, but who will not be wanted in industry when more able workers can be hired. These and many more social problems can be anticipated for the period of postwar adjustments.

Again, we may look to the national government for considerable leadership and helpful information, and perhaps certain financial aid. These will be of little or no value, however, unless our states and our local communities are aware of their responsibilities and are armed with the understanding and the trained leadership for meeting social problems squarely. There will be a need for hundreds more of trained social workers, nurses, and doctors. Further, our social work agencies and health services will need the intelligent support and coöperation of thousands more community leaders, "friendly visitors," board members, committee workers, who have had opportunity to study and understand these problems.

Here again is a major educational responsibility that dare not wait until the war is won. For the most part it is a responsibility of our universities, both on the campus and in their extension departments. This calls for a considered re-examination of curriculum and of our methods in the fields of applied sociology and public administration.

4. *Postwar Political and Governmental Adjustments*

Postwar political and governmental adjustments hazard all these other adjustments. This fact should no doubt impel us to see our way through them before tackling demobilization, economic rearrangements, or social adjustments. However, it is through planning to meet these other vitally important adjustments that we glimpse some of the nature and importance of the role of politics and government.

Politics and government in this country rest with "We, the people" —we make or break them. We can break them by failing to act, as was the case at the end of World War I. It seems that then most of the postwar plans for political and governmental adjustments were made by President Wilson and his associates —"We, the people" did not give it a thought. After celebrating a couple of armistices we left our political and governmental future to the isolationist minority in the United States Senate, some of whom are still in high places. These men apparently have learned nothing from their tragic mistakes and blind littleness. They are likely to be successful again in sabotaging the peace unless America's postwar plans are hammered out on the anvils of public discussion based on accurate and adequate information.

The kind of world we want to live in, and the role of the United States in forming and directing that world, will be determined by "We, the people." Already much progress has been made, but it is not until each and every community has had a share in the shaping of our postwar political and governmental plans that we can be sure of winning the peace.

For the most part our major problems of postwar adjustment concern three areas of government and politics: (1) *international organization* and the establishing of sound international relations which will grant to all peoples the guarantees ex-

pressed in the Atlantic Charter; (2) *national government* and the development of sound policies for directing the complicated problems of internal adjustment; (3) *local government* and the safeguarding of the hold Americans have on self-government in its most tangible and controllable units, where effective citizenship can and must make its will expressed. Every educational resource will need to center attention on these phases of postwar plans, and especially is it important that adult education begin at once to assemble and make available to communities everywhere the essential information and thought out of which to shape a dynamic public will. We dare not fail again.

A plea from a Wisconsin alumnus, now with the armed forces "somewhere in England," gives us an appreciation of what our soldiers are thinking on this point:

> We are now engaged in another war to "make the world safe for democracy." Most of us have scorned and held this slogan in ridicule because of its "empty" meaning in regard to the last war. Although pessimism and defeatism still reign disgustingly formidable in our thinking in this respect, we are beginning to realize, thank God, that wars and victories cannot win the world over to the democratic way of life, *per se*. We are aware, as never before, that the war itself is only a small fraction of the fight—that the victory will not be ours until we are prepared to adjust our thinking along the lines of world coöperation and internationalism, the only smooth highway to peace for America. This constitutes, perhaps, the greatest humanitarian challenge to our educators of tomorrow.

THE CITY OF THE FUTURE

(Continued from Page 72)

to local units of government, in terms of allocation of functions, taxes, and grants in aid, need a thorough overhauling, but I do not believe there is the slightest prospect that any prospective reform along these lines would enable the cities in our generation to tackle the problem of blighted and slum land areas without overstraining their fiscal capacity. Federal aid is essential. But let me add here, parenthetically, that we envisage no centralized control over city planning. Every possible safeguard should be included in the underlying legislation against interference with the community in planning any sort of town it wants, so long as a few indispensable and obvious standards are adhered to.

Demolition and rebuilding in the acquired areas, or rehabilitation where this is feasible, should proceed as rapidly as all the attendant circumstances would permit. Meanwhile, public work activities of all kinds should be fitted into the larger program. Steady progress could thus be made, over the years, towards realization of the growing and developing master plan.

For other materials dealing with this subject see: Alvin H. Hansen and Guy Greer, *Urban Redevelopment and Housing,* National Planning Association; Guy Greer, "City Replanning and Rebuilding," *The Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics,* August 1942; Alvin H. Hansen and Guy Greer, "The Federal Debt and the Future," *Harper's Magazine,* April 1942; Alvin H. Hansen, "We Can Pay for the War," *The Atlantic,* October 1942; Alvin H. Hansen and Guy Greer, "Toward Full Use of Our Resources," *Fortune,* November 1942.

On the Local Front

Report on prostitution asks local law enforcement officers to maintain 'the same degree of vigilance in this important task as manifest the past year.'

Prepared by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services
Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

THE NATION'S law enforcement officers are launching a new attack on prostitution and sexual promiscuity, according to a report of the Enforcement Section of the National Advisory Police Committee on Social Protection, released recently by Paul V. McNutt, Director of Defense Health and Welfare Services.

The report presents a series of recommendations for dealing with the unorganized channels and the "third parties" to the prostitution racket, based upon the experience of members of the National Advisory Police Committee in their own towns and counties. Excerpts from the report follow:

"The nation's law enforcement officers view with considerable pride the latest venereal disease rates as reported by the Army and Navy. These reports indicate a substantial proportional reduction in venereal infections.

"A little more than a year ago the police departments and sheriffs' offices of the forty-eight states were asked to participate in a vigorous campaign for repression of commercialized prostitution. This request was presaged by an extensive survey in which it was definitely determined that the house of prostitution and the 'red light' district were by far the principal sources of all venereal infections to our armed forces.

"There was but one course of action —the house of prostitution and the 'red light' district had to be put out of business. The community which still tolerates the house of prostitution is the exception. Such a community is providing very effective aid and comfort to the enemy by maintaining a hazard to the health of our armed forces and war workers. . . .

"Records of the Army and Navy indicate that the move against 'red light' districts and houses of prostitution has reduced venereal disease coming from that source to a mere fraction of its former volume.

"Consequently, we are now in position to open a second front against the next important source of venereal disease. This is prostitution as practiced outside of the house of prostitution.

"Engaged in this are the streetwalker, the call-girl, the resident of upstairs side-street hotels, the hostess in the cheap saloon, the tourist camp and trailer girl. These may include some of the professionals who have been driven out of the old district.

"In preparing a definite plan of attack upon this type of prostitution, the law enforcement officer has many allies, particularly the local health officer, and the specially trained VD Control Officers now present in many of our Army and Navy camps. These men have information of immediate value to the enforcement officer in locating the places where these women operate. Their information comes from several sources, including clinics, private doctors, and particularly the infected soldier or sailor.

"The mutual coöperation of the

courts, police and public health authorities should include provisions for the detection of venereal disease where present in persons picked up on morals charges. The police must hold, or have available, persons picked up on such charges long enough and in a suitable place to permit medical examination. Medical authorities must provide necessary personnel and facilities, not alone to perform the examination as rapidly as possible, but also to complete the treatment of those found infected.

"Other valuable sources of information as to the operation of prostitutes of this type are the chiefs of military police or shore patrol.

"Women engaged in prostitution outside of known assignation houses are dependent almost entirely upon the 'third party.' The 'third party' is usually of two classes, an unwitting facilitator, or the parasite deliberately aiding the woman because of personal financial gain.

"In the first class, investigation will make many interesting disclosures not only to the police but to the unwitting facilitator. Who is this unwitting facilitator? He may be the manager or owner of the city's leading hotel. His bellboys may be procuring women for guests every night. These same women, unnoticed by him, may be frequenting the expensive hotel bars and making the contacts for their evening's work.

"This same ignorance of facts may be applied to the taxicab fleet owner, the tourist camp or trailer camp operator, the roadhouse proprietor, the dance hall operator, and the amusement park manager.

"All these people are business men in communities large or small. They are taxpayers and are entitled to the benefit of the doubt. If, however, police have definite knowledge that they are unwittingly providing any occasion or facility for the practice of prostitution, they are duty bound to so inform them.

"All of these business men . . . probably have a sense of pride and a spirit of patriotism. They have bought war bonds and, if this picture is presented to them from a patriotic angle, it is seriously doubted if any will continue to aid or abet the prostitute. . . .

"Suggestions for Dealing with the Independent Prostitute and Recalcitrant Third Party:

"1. *Streetwalker*

"A vigilant alert for the streetwalker. If apprehended, mandatory examination by health officers must follow. Patrolling of streets and parks to prevent solicitation and pickups. Investigations, records, and reports will show where and when to patrol. Many arrests may not result, but the mere presence of police and sheriffs may prevent activities leading to infections.

"2. *Hotels*

"Hotels unwilling to coöperate in the program must be dealt with in sterner fashion. It may be necessary to use investigators to obtain information against individual bellboys who are the procurers. Prosecution must follow. Continuous violations reported in the hotel would justify abatement proceedings. Attendant publicity would do the hotel irreparable harm. If bars are operated in conjunction with the hotel, careful watch must be maintained against continued patronage by known prostitutes. If the bar apparently encourages their patronage, they are harboring vagrants and committing a nuisance as defined by city ordinance or state statute.

"3. *Young Girls*

"Use your juvenile officers and policewomen. A high percentage of infections to the armed forces has been

traced to girls in their early 'teens. . . . These girls usually frequent dance halls, amusement parks, and cheap beer joints. The owners must be warned to keep these girls off their premises, particularly if unescorted, as most of them are. Continued disregard of official warning would justify their prosecution as contributing to juvenile delinquency.

"4. *Saloons and Taverns*

"Legitimate and respectable saloon keepers or tavern owners will not be a knowing 'third party' to the practice of prostitution. There are many people engaged in this business, however, who believe the presence of prostitutes serves as a trade stimulant.

". . . Women frequently fall into prostitution through employment in bars where their salaries are almost insufficient to pay their daily street car fare. Wage and hour laws are in effect in nearly every state. A study of these laws may enable the enforcement officer to assist these women to procure a living wage and withstand the economic temptation of entering prostitution.

"The enforcement officer has many allies in his fight against the saloonkeeper who refuses to coöperate in this program. If he is tolerating a nuisance by continuing to encourage patronage of prostitutes, the liquor commission—state or local—may take action resulting in license revocation.

"The health commissioner may find unsanitary conditions abounding in the food departments or toilets which may justify injunction proceedings. The non-coöperative tavern owner will be in the minority. A complaint to the city, county, or state tavern owners' association may be sufficient for the association to do its own policing. . . .

"5. *Taxis*

"Many taxicab drivers and operators are becoming 'third parties' in the promotion of prostitution. . . . This can be stopped. A meeting with owners of cab systems . . . will probably end the practice. If not, presentation of sufficient evidence of 'third party' activity to the Office of Defense Transportation will result in cancellation of Certificate of War Necessity for these vehicles.

"6. *Tourist Camps*

"Too many tourist camps are being used by prostitutes driven from cities. This is particularly true of women who own or drive an automobile. Camp operators will probably respond in the same fashion as the urban hotel operators. If not, the same methods of procedure may be employed against them. This is also applicable to trailer camps. Registers should be checked at regular intervals.

"8. *Roadhouses*

"Roadhouses require checking, particularly if sleeping quarters are operated in conjunction with the business. Many prostitutes are seeking jobs as waitresses in rural taverns near large cities. These women are not interested in changing occupations, but simply seeking a new scene of operations because their former haunts have been closed to them.

"We sincerely hope that no law enforcement executive will in the future permit two infections to be reported from the same place. One was too many. . . .

"Your committee is proud to have been part of a program which has been crowned with a substantial measure of success thus far. In view of the fact that it is representative of the two principal branches of local law enforcement—the municipal police department and the county sheriff's office— . . . we exhort every law enforcement officer to maintain the same degree of vigilance in this important task as manifest the past year."

The Researcher's Digest: February

Behind the ballots with slide rule and adding machine; penal administration in the old south; research bureau Dick Tracys; catholicity of legislative council interests.

NOT so long ago it used to be that a social scientist who used the bizarre instrument of the public opinion poll had to justify himself all over the place. Now, however, anyone who is so old-fashioned as *not* to use the poll seems to feel it necessary to give his reasons a good airing. Harold F. Gosnell who, if memory serves, was himself a pioneer in a rudimentary sort of public opinion poll years ago in Chicago, is the researcher who now, for good and sufficient reasons, is studying *Grass Roots Politics,* or Voting Behavior of Typical States, by the old-fashioned expedient of going behind the election returns.

The study, published by the **American Council on Public Affairs,** is the result of several years of analysis of the influences behind the vote in a number of states. Although the approach is strictly scientific and mathematics and the map are liberally in use, the orthodox student of American government will have no difficulty in recognizing the technique whereby Dr. Gosnell examines, in turn, industrial politics in Pennsylvania, progressive politics in Wisconsin, farm belt politics in Iowa, utopias in California, rural-urban conflict in Illinois, and Long's Louisiana. It is, in a way, a relief to have someone again oppose election returns to economic, sociological, and religious factors, and to come out with some good *ex post facto* reasons for what happened. Dr. Gosnell lays great store by economic and religious motivations for the vote, and easily proves his point time and again.

A conclusion predicts a great change in the American party system should a long war force economic cleavages into the open.

Bloodhounds and Such

Anyone who remembers that blood-stirring (at least to a Northerner) movie called "I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang" would enjoy *State Penal Administration in Alabama* by the **University of Alabama's Bureau of Public Administration,** if only because of the sheer contrast in mood. On the one hand you have white-hot anger; on the other you have Dr. Malcolm C. Moos' scholarly attempt to report objectively upon a local governmental institution and still not rouse the enmity of the whole state.

They still whip prisoners in Alabama; they still have road gangs—under the supervision of the State Department of Highways and not under the correctional authorities; on the other hand, in some Alabama prisons they show movies and have prisoner self-government. Dr. Moos spent months in intimate study of every aspect of penal administration, and it was not library research either, for he lived among his subjects and talked to them and ate with them. He reports upon his findings in calm, scholarly accents, refrains from epithets, and exhibits a nice professional interest in the fine points of tracking down escaped prisoners with bloodhounds. And he asks for the abolition of certain features of the system with such unexcited finesse that you hardly know he's done it.

Stop-Watch Research

A little old-fashioned snooping on the part of the staff of the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy** produced some interesting observations on the work habits of some of Baltimore's city employees.

Your Tax Dollar for November 27, with supplements A, B, and C, describes in strict diary form the activities of a traffic officer on the southeast corner of "A" and "B" streets between the hours of 11:47 A.M. and 4:45 P.M. on a certain day; of street sweepers in many parts of the city, and of park, highways, and fire department maintenance crews. The minute-to-minute check on the traffic cop showed that his production consisted in large part of conversation, conducted with his back to traffic. As for the street cleaning force—covered under the literary title of "A Night with the Street Sweepers"—the Bureau's force watched four different crews working through the long urban night. The Bureau found that supervisors characteristically appeared after most of the work was done, that the hours worked are inordinately short, and that the plan of work is haphazard in the extreme. The account of the work habits of the park, fire, and highways people sounds like a radio announcer at a prize fight: i.e., "he's up—he's down—he's resting."

The Bureau's conclusion is that the city should regularly employ its own "snoopers" and reduce city employment thereby.

Legislative Councils

A bumper crop of legislative council researches illustrates the variety of topics in which the law-makers are interested. Most of the studies currently at hand follow the established legislative council approach. There is a historical analysis of the subject in question, an exposition of the way other states do "it," and an explanation of the various proposals for "doing it" at home.

From the **Illinois Council** comes *Overhead Organization of State Conservation Activities,* with a rehearsal of board versus single-head type of organization. The same council is interested in *Payments in Lieu of Taxes* under housing and federal land purchase programs, of particular importance now that public war housing by the federal government has become rampant. A third Illinois study considers *Service in the Armed Forces as a Disqualification for Legislative Membership* and finds that any local change would require constitutional amendment which could not, in any event, come into effect before 1944.

Kansas is concerned with *Revision of County Salary Schedules,* in an attempt to reach some sort of classified pay scale; with *Closed Schools in Kansas,* a movement that has led to a salutary reduction in the number of over-small operating units and an increase in the number of central schools; and with *Assessment and Taxation,* in which the council summarized the recommendations for reform which it made at the legislature's request.

That the state liquor monopoly produces more revenue than the licensing system is the conclusion of the **University Bureau of Business Research** in a study of *State Liquor Monopoly or Private Licensing?* made for the **Kentucky Legislative Council.** As for the control aspects of monopoly versus licensing, the bureau finds little evidence either pro or con.

The Maryland Legislative Council adds to earlier studies in its *Supplementary Report of Roadside Control* and *Supplementary Report on Local Legislation.* New studies include *Self-Insurance on State Property* and *State Aid to Higher Education in Maryland.*

Legislative council researches in Nebraska, finally, bring forth data on *Public Education Below the College Level,* on *Mothers Pensions and Aid to Dependent Children,* and on *Assessment of Small Loan Companies for Purposes of Taxation.*

Research Bureau Reports Received

Assessment

Assessment of Small Loan Companies for Purposes of Taxation. Nebraska Legislative Council, Lincoln, 1942. 10 pp.

Assessment and Taxation. Kansas Legislative Council, 1942. 8 pp.

Conservation

Overhead Organization of State Conservation Activities. Illinois Legislative Council, Springfield, 1942. 15 pp.

Insurance

Self-Insurance on State Property. Maryland Legislative Council, Baltimore, 1942. 34 pp.

Liquor Control

State Liquor Monopoly or Private Licensing? By Glenn D. Morrow and Orba F. Traylor. Kentucky Legislative Council, Frankfort, 1942. 80 pp.

Personnel

Baltimore's Municipal Personnel. Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy. *Your Tax Dollar,* November 27, 1942.

Prisons

State Penal Administration in Alabama. By Malcolm C. Moos. Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, University, 1942. 178 pp.

Roadside Control

Supplementary Report on Roadside Control. Maryland Legislative Council, Baltimore, 1942. 23 pp.

Salaries

Revision of County Salary Schedules. Kansas Legislative Council, Topeka, 1942. 17 pp. charts.

Schools

Closed Schools in Kansas. Kansas Legislative Council, Topeka, 1942. 96 pp

State Aid to Higher Education in Maryland. Maryland Legislative Council, Baltimore, 1942. 22 pp.

Social Security

Mothers Pensions and Aid to Dependent Children. Nebraska Legislative Council, Lincoln, 1942. 14 pp.

State-Local Relations

Supplementary Report on Local Legislation. Maryland Legislative Council, Baltimore, 1942. 18 pp.

Taxation

Payments in Lieu of Taxes. Illinois Legislative Council, Springfield, 1942 56 pp.

Voting

Grass Roots Politics. By Harold F. Gosnell. American Council of Public Affairs, Washington, D. C., 1942. 204 pp.

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from Page 58)

self-examination; others are revolting against local waste because they are being pinched by war taxes; some see it as a primary wartime duty to attempt to make every governmental activity as efficient as it can possibly be.

The staff is in frequent touch with virtually all of these improvement efforts. Most of the efforts are led by people who have had little or no experience in public affairs and who need considerable guidance. The calls for assistance are numerous and varied. Many present special problems which require individual attention. Others require only the application of one or more of the models which the League's committees and staff have developed.

These guides are applied in various ways. A few recent applications will illustrate. In November 1941 the League held its 47th annual National Conference on Government in St. Louis.

One of the principal problems facing the St. Louis area was the possibility of revising Missouri's constitution. In line with established policy to assist in immediate situations, part of the Conference program dealt with constitutional problems. The League invited a corps of outstanding constitutional experts to the meeting to give the people of Missouri an intensive three-day "civics lesson." On the final day of the Conference the nucleus of a campaign committee was formed by Missourians and in November 1942—just a year later—the people of Missouri voted to hold a convention to revise the constitution. It is not unusual for Conferences to leave immediate results like this in their wake, in addition to providing other inspiration and encouragement of a long-term nature.

Another recent example is found in Houston, Texas, where early in the year a group of citizens launched a campaign for adoption of the council-manager form of government and then wrote to the League for advice. The campaign won overwhelmingly against resourceful opposition, and Houston now seems to be well on its way toward achieving the goal set by a small group of determined citizens. After the election, the editor of the paper with which we coöperated wrote that the League's help contributed much to the victory.

Three years ago we were approached by a young writer in Augusta, Georgia, who was worried over the bad political and governmental situation in his community. Constant correspondence has given him what amounts to a course in civic leadership. He was instrumental in establishing the Citizens Union of Augusta with a sound program.

The president of a lumber company in Vancouver, British Columbia, has been corresponding with the staff for ten years on methods of improving conditions in his city. Last summer he helped to organize the Vancouver Municipal League with a highly constructive program. We advised these people by mail and through our publications and, in addition, put them in touch with broadly experienced leaders of the Seattle Municipal League who gave them "on the spot" assistance.

Whenever possible we work through established organizations, for in this way we can multiply our effectiveness and conserve our own resources. The leadership of the Oregon League of Women Voters, in an effort to obtain a constitutional amendment to permit the reorganization of counties, is an illustration. We have advised this group closely, even to the point of preparing a rough draft of the proposed amendment and editing the manuscript of an educational pamphlet issued by the Oregon group.

While the city of Rome, New York, was going through an unprecedented war production boom, its Chamber of Commerce informed us of its fear that, beneath its apparent prosperity, the city was in essentially bad shape and would, therefore, find it difficult to cope with the situation it would face after the war. A brief financial and administrative survey of Rome's government, conducted by the League and paid for by the Chamber of Commerce, has confirmed that organization's fears and has recommended remedies and safeguards.

The reformation of Kansas City has continued during the past year. It will be recalled that that city was for fifteen years our greatest embarrassment, for it was the shining example of how badly the council-manager plan could work when dominated by a corrupt political boss. The business men and other leaders helped bring about a change which in two short years

has placed Kansas City firmly among the best governed communities of the country.

The ease with which their people can reach the League office has made it possible for many communities close to New York to receive an especially large amount of attention. Yonkers, with which we have worked closely, won an overwhelming success in November's campaign. Glen Cove, New York, has a charter commission in operation. Long Beach, New York, has a vigorous citizens organization and has won a reduction of more than $100,000 in its budget as a direct result of consultations with the staff which led to a survey of the city's government.

There have been other similar instances too numerous to detail. This cross-section will illustrate, however, something of the nature of the problems and the fact that the League is the only organization which stands ready to render a kind of service which helps citizens become effective community leaders.

A Model Fiscal Program

The Committee on a Model Fiscal Program has completed, except for publication, three model laws: *A Model Bond Law, A Model Accrual Budget Law,* and *A Model Cash Basis Budget Law.*

Work has been begun on other models which will be designed to help meet some of the difficult problems of the assessment of real estate and the collection of taxes.

This work has been done by a committee composed of distinguished authorities in the field of municipal finance who have contributed their time freely. Incidental expenses, publication and education costs have been underwritten by contributions from the Investment Bankers Association, Chase National Bank, National City Bank, and Henry L. Shattuck.

This program is designed to provide better fiscal controls and to put the financial affairs of cities and other political subdivisions in a healthy condition to meet whatever problems emerge after the war. The various models will decrease the likelihood of a repetition of the disastrous cycle through which thousands of our units of government went after the last war. They will also help to relieve the pressure when war-boom cities attempt to absorb swollen populations, depressed cities try to tax lost values, and cities generally begin to spend for deferred capital improvements and other public works.

Currently the Committee is seeking financial assistance to complete its work.

Metropolitan Areas Problem

Excepting the actual winning of the war, the greatest problem confronting American cities is the so-called metropolitan areas problem. It is faced by every city of 100,000 or more and, to a lesser extent, by smaller cities. For years there has been an outward movement of families, business, and industry from the core cities. This exodus of those who are generally the most productive has thrown the entire economic and social systems of metropolitan areas out of kilter. The great values concentrated in city centers deteriorate. Blight and decay creep forward, slum areas spread, the flight of citizens whom the city can ill afford to lose is hastened, and rich soil is prepared for the seeds of discontent, delinquency, and crime among the more dependent who remain.

It is not a single or a simple problem. The entire economic welfare of urban people is involved. The social problems are exceedingly large and complicated. The tax problem becomes

acute. The political and governmental problems which result are already causing a near breakdown which is far from localized.

A pattern which will solve these serious problems has been sought for years. No one city, no one metropolitan region is finding the solution which each needs. Developments growing out of the war, meanwhile, are rendering the best information of yesterday obsolete. There is need for a new study, national in scope, to find out what is happening to this country's metropolitan areas and to develop a plan or plans for coping with the decay and threatening collapse.

The League has been urged by persons and organizations who have gone deeply into their own local situations to lead this exploration. The problems involved in accepting this challenge have been under discussion for more than a year. At the League's call, the nucleus of a Committee on Postwar Problems of Urban Peoples was formed and met last July 1 and 2 in Chicago.

The Committee is seeking foundation support to finance the program over a period of five years. Should the war end during that interval, a continuing study will be more desperately needed, for there is no question but that the resumption of highway construction and the production of automobiles and airplanes for civilian use will bring a sudden and unprecedentedly strong impact of all the phenomena associated with the metropolitan areas problem.

Municipal Reporting Service

In August the Municipal Reporting Service which the League established as an experiment in California and which was financed by the Columbia Foundation of San Francisco, was discontinued. Before the west coast's preoccupation with the war interfered, the Service had demonstrated its value in setting standards and developing new methods of teaching people basic facts about their local government by reports prepared for Berkeley and for the civilian defense activities of Oakland and San Francisco.

National Conference

For the first time in the League's history the usual three-day National Conference on Government was omitted in order to comply with the government's request that, because of heavy wartime burdens imposed on transportation facilities, conventions be foregone or be of a limited nature. The annual meeting was limited to officers and members of the Council who met December 22 at the Hotel St. Regis in New York as dinner guests of Carl H. Pforzheimer, League treasurer and chairman of the Steering Committee.[1]

Consultant Service

The League since 1933 has conducted a Consultant Service which has made surveys of many cities and counties the cost of which was paid by local civic organizations or by the governments involved. During the past year the Consultant Service has been concerned with three surveys—Rome, New York, Long Beach, New York, and the Town and Borough of Wallingford, Connecticut.

It appears that all three surveys conducted this year are likely to lead to fundamental changes in the charters of the communities involved.

These three surveys demonstrate again that, if needless waste and inefficiency could by some quick magic or businesslike action be squeezed out of local, county, and state government, the savings would be great—perhaps enough to pay the interest on the war debt.

---

[1]See p. 59 for Minutes of this meeting.

National Municipal Review

This year the REVIEW has made the war and its effect on local government one of its major interests. The experience of English cities has been discussed in articles by such local government authorities as A. Emil Davies, former chairman of the London County Council; Eric H. Biddle of the American Public Welfare Association, who has spent considerable time in England; Connery Chappel of the London *Sunday Dispatch;* and C. Kent Wright, town clerk of Stoke Newington, England.

Numerous articles and editorials dealing with problems faced by municipalities in this country—defense, finance, housing, utilities, postwar planning—have also been published, with emphasis on citizen action on the home front.

A series of short articles on cities which in 1942 celebrated twenty or twenty-five years of manager government was also published.

One new department has been added: "On the Local Front," edited by Mrs. Zilpha C. Franklin. chief information officer of the U. S. Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services.

Orders were received for a total of 20,050 copies of reprints of articles which appeared during the year.

Sale of Publications

During 1942 there has been a large demand for the *Model City Charter* which for many years has been credited with having had more influence on the improvement of local government than any other single document. Of the first printing of 1,500 copies of the fifth revision, published in November 1941, about 250 remain in stock.

The *Model State Constitution,* which also was revised and re-published in November 1941, has met a similar reception. More than 1,200 copies were sold during the year.

Considering the technical nature o these publications and the fact tha they are useful principally to seriou students of government, this sales rec ord may be taken to indicate a greate than normal interest in the improve ment of local and state government.

A total of 11,308 copies of the League' publications were distributed of whic 10,341 were sold.

Membership

During the last two years it ha been increasingly difficult for organiza tions of all types to retain a norma flow of income from memberships. Th League has managed to keep its losse smaller than those of many comparabl organizations.

Enemy action has cost the League th greater part of its foreign membershi which normally extends to twenty-fiv countries. The foreign memberships d not represent a total loss, howeve We have made arrangements with th American Library Association to la aside some copies of the NATIONA MUNICIPAL REVIEW each month fo later distribution to foreign librar members. For this the Associatio pays the League at a reduced rate.

There have been other bright spot in the struggle to preserve our mem bership. For example, last year Mr James W. Clise, a civic leader of Seat tle who for some years has been a loyal and enthusiastic supporter of th League, purchased thirty-seven mem berships for the members of the boar and chairmen of committees of th Seattle Municipal League to bring them into closer contact with similar effort in other communities.

Curtailed budgets of both organiza tions and individuals and the move ment of many of our members int the armed forces have caused a ne loss of membership during 1942 o

seventy-two. By no means all of those who went into the armed forces have dropped their membership, however. One lieutenant colonel who used to belong to many organizations reported that he had dropped every one of them but the League. A private in the army renewed his membership recently and also sent a contribution. He wrote: "I'm only a private in the army and I don't have much money, but I'm all for the work you're doing. Here's my check." Another lieutenant colonel wrote from what he described as "a south sea island" renewing his membership, making a financial contribution, and asking that he be brought up to date on progress during the months he had not seen either a newspaper or the REVIEW.

Progress in Government

During 1942 there were twenty-two adoptions of the council-manager form of government, including one county. This was the largest number of adoptions in any one of the past ten years. There was one abandonment. The staff is coöperating with and advising civic groups in scores of cities and counties seeking improvements in the structure of their governments.

Petroleum County, Montana, became the first county in that state and the seventh county in the United States to adopt the county manager plan. Montgomery County, Maryland, elected a commission to draft a home rule charter. An amendment to the constitution of Oregon, to permit reorganization of county government in that state, has been prepared, with the League's coöperation, for submission to the 1943 legislature. Movements for the improvement of county government are also in progress elsewhere.

The people of Missouri approved a proposal to call a convention for the revision of its constitution, while a similar effort in New Jersey was blocked by the legislature and other elements. Michigan voters rejected a proposal for a constitutional revision.

There was considerable progress in the extension of the merit system in civil service. By July 1, 1943, the merit system will be in full operation in all counties in the State of New York. Merit system legislation will be introduced in various state legislatures including Iowa, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Oregon, and West Virginia.

Yonkers became the first city to use a recount of the previous election's proportional representation ballots to fill a vacancy in the city council. An attempt to repeal proportional representation in Yonkers was defeated by a two-to-one vote.

The Future

After the war the need for improved leadership, personnel, and structure of government will be accentuated as our communities face problems of demobilization, reconversion of industry, temporary unemployment, migratory populations, shifting sources of revenue and other serious questions.

The need for such guidance as the League can give by drawing attention to and seeking solutions for emerging problems will be at least as great as it has ever been if not greater. We may logically expect another municipal renaissance like that which followed the last war when cities reorganized their governments at a faster rate than ever before along the lines of the League's recommendations.

There have been many encroachments on the powers of cities not only during this war but prior to it. The League should expect to be a potent force in the emerging fight to preserve local self-government.

Respectfully submitted,
HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*
ALFRED WILLOUGHBY,
Executive Secretary

Contributors in Review

ORIGINATOR of the observance of Citizenship Day as celebrated in Manitowac County, Wisconsin, **R. J. Colbert** (*Education for the Postwar World*) now turns his attention to education of the citizen for things to come. Dr. Colbert has been chairman of the Social Science Department of the University of Wisconsin's Extension Division for a dozen years or more, and on the University's faculty for over twenty. He has done municipal research bureau work and has been counsellor to many local governments, as well as leader in the development of community round tables on public administration, in his state.

LUCIUS N. Littauer professor of economics at Harvard since 1937, **Alvin H. Hansen** (*The City of the Future*) is well known for his writings not only on economic problems but on postwar planning, especially as it relates to the rebuilding of our cities. Some of his recent articles have appeared in *Harper's Magazine, Fortune, The Atlantic.* Dr. Hansen has held numerous appointments in the economic field. He has been director of research and secretary to the Commission of Inquiry on National Policy in International Economic Relations, economist to the U. S. State Department, economic advisor to the Prairie Provinces before the Canadian Royal Commission in Dominion-Provincial Relations, member of the Advisory Council on Social Security.

A "PHILOSOPHER-politician who, without interrupting his academic work, once occupied the center of the municipal stage in Chicago and later sat close to the center of national authority . . . his sense of the important in practical affairs was not less keen than his insights in matters intellectual." These words, from *The Future of Government in the United States,* authored by several of his former students now themselves well known in the political science field, give a fitting description of **Charles E. Merriam** (*"Make No Small Plans"*). Dr. Merriam has been teaching political science at the University of Chicago since 1900, traveling from instructor to chairman of the University's Department of Political Science. He is a member of the National Resources Planning Board (since 1933) and of the President's Commission on Administrative Management. His many books, well known to the student of political science, need no listing here.

STARTING as a reporter on the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle,* **Harold W. Sanford** (*Rochester Plans for Peace*) is now editor of that publication as well as author of two of its forward-looking columns—"The Civic Scene" on local civic affairs and "The International Scene" on foreign affairs. Carrying through his interest in public affairs both at home and abroad, Mr. Sanford has been chairman of the Rochester World Court Commission and of the Planning Committee of the Rochester Citizens Planning and Housing Council, as well as member of the Monroe County Charter Commission, the New York State Defense Committee, and numerous other civic enterprises.

Letter to the Editor

He Doubts 'The King Can Do No Wrong'

To the Editor of the
National Municipal Review:

I am much interested in the controversy in the National Municipal Review, between Mr. George A. Warp of the University of Virginia and Mr. Philip Nichols of the city of Boston, on the subject of governmental liability for the negligence of public officers.

As a member of a city law department, I cannot help but feel that Mr. Nichols has a much more realistic grasp of the elements involved. I agree with him that it is better to go on mitigating a few hardships arising under the present situation "than to open the Pandora's Box of Troubles that would afflict us if we attempted to assimilate in the application of tort liability two things that are so definitely different as the governmental functions of a municipal body and the business activities of a private corporation."

In his reply to Mr. Nichols, Mr. Warp says: "The fundamental principles on which the governmental-proprietary distinction rests are, first, the maxim that the king can do no wrong and, second, the concept that the government is above the law."

Such a statement is, to my way of thinking, unsound. The maxim that "the king can do no wrong" has no application whatever. In a constitutional monarchy, the king can do no wrong because he acts solely on the advice of his ministers, and his ministers are the leaders of the duly elected representatives of the people. Nor is the government "above the law"—it is the creature of the law, subject to change at any time by the people or their elected representatives.

A government is not, in any true sense, a corporation. A private corporation is a creature of government. It is a voluntary organization, usually for profit, of individuals engaged in a joint enterprise. It is proper that the law should hold the stockholders responsible for the results of their corporate activities so far as other persons are damaged by them. Furthermore, being business organizations, they can provide, out of their business, for financing liability.

A government, on the other hand, whether state, county, or municipal, is an instrument primarily for the maintenance of public order, secondarily for the providing of services considered necessary for the public health, safety, and welfare. Its first need is to collect revenues, its second, to determine how they are to be used. It does not start off with a capital stock.

While the legislature in a state government is the closest approximation to the board of directors of a private corporation, it is not a board of directors. Properly speaking, it is a law-making body establishing rules and regulations for the conduct of the people with reference to each other, and determining what activities the administrative officers of government shall undertake. There is no corporate body. Most state constitutions provide for the election of state officers with functions entirely independent of each other and subject to no control by the legislature, except such as may be exercised through its appropriating power.

A county government is even less a corporation than a state government. It is hardly more than a skeleton arrangement set up by the state for the government of the county area.

Municipal governments are generally referred to as municipal corporations, but properly speaking they are nothing more than area governments, re-

sembling state governments in having a legislative body and resembling county governments in having their governmental arrangements set up, more or less, from the outside.

The residents and property owners of a municipality are not voluntary members of the so-called municipal corporation. They have no alternative but to submit themselves and their property to the control of the law. Yet, on the theory of governmental tort liability, their property could be held subject to answer for the act of any underling of any officer acting in the name of the government, without even any provision for limited liability.

The line of distinction between governmental and proprietary functions has not always been clear, and at times the rulings of courts have seemed arbitrary. In some jurisdictions courts formerly ruled that the operation of a public park or of a public hospital was not a governmental function. Later decisions have recognized practically every governmental activity as governmental where it is provided for the public without charge, or even where charges are imposed if the revenues are definitely not expected to be ample, as in the case of public hospitals charging for service where the patient is able to pay.

On the other hand, the operation of a waterworks, being a self-supporting business, has generally been treated as a proprietary function. Some years ago, however, the United States Supreme Court held that the provision of a water supply for a city was an essential governmental function.

It would seem that the proper line of distinction ought to be business and non-business, counting as non-business such enterprises, as public hospitals, which are in the main eleemosynary in character even though fees are charged to the extent practicable.

If a government goes into a business, such as the operation of a public utility, it must go in on the same basis as a private corporation does, assuming all the liabilities that attach to it and providing for them out of its revenues. It is more or less thrust into its non-business operations because no private corporation will render services not revenue-producing.

Nevertheless, in spite of the gratuitous character of most governmental activities, it may for practical purposes be desirable in the case of some of them to impose a degree of liability upon the people and property located within the particular area. It should be understood, however, that the liability in these cases arises not out of the equities, as in the case of stockholders of a private corporation, but rather as a kind of penalty to induce compliance with the law.

Many states, for example, have imposed liability for the operation of motor vehicles by public officers and employees, because of the danger to the public safety in permitting increasingly large numbers of such vehicles to be operated without financial responsibility.

The theory of governmental non-liability might perhaps be summed up in the following two statements:

1. The institution of government within a given area does not create a contract obligation or a moral obligation on the part of the residents and property owners of that area to be responsible for the acts of the agents of government.
2. The people cannot, without the consent of their representatives, be held to answer in damages for the acts of those who conduct government for them.

Ed F. Alexander,
Assistant Solicitor
City of Cincinnati

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Many States and Cities Make Postwar Plans

Local reserve funds few in number

DEVELOPMENT of public works programs, as direct means of preventing widespread postwar unemployment and of utilizing for constructive public benefit the vast resources of manpower mobilized by war, is under way in large measure.

In the state field a survey of the planning situation by the National Resources Planning Board shows that eight states have completed such plans, to provide immediate postwar employment on a large scale to returning service men and wartime industrial workers. They are Idaho, Maryland, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, New York, Oregon, and Virginia. Four more states—Alabama, Massachusetts, New Mexico, and Washington—are expected to have programs completed soon. In fifteen others it is indicated that from six months to a year will be needed to finish plans and specifications: Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Iowa, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, New Jersey, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, and Utah. In the other twenty-one states the work has been mainly confined to listing of the projects that are considered desirable.

The NRPB points out that with the completion of many war construction projects more engineers and architects are now ready to undertake the planning of postwar public works; state and local governments are urged to utilize the services of such specialists as they become available.

The state and local section of the NRPB, headed by Sidney Thomas, has coöperated with a majority of the states and many cities in planning postwar projects; private industry, real estate interests, and labor have likewise assisted.

Inquiries made of the larger cities by *The American City* and the *Architectural Forum* resulted in replies from 108, nearly all of which reported that they had begun to plan for postwar municipal improvements of great variety—city buildings, streets, sewers and sewage treatment, waterworks, hospitals, parks, playgrounds, grade separations, bridges, and many others. The major agency for preparing plans has been the city engineering department, with city planning commissions acting in an advisory capacity, or, in a few cases, actually making the plans.

In most cases the cities are dependent on future taxes or borrowing for the financing of postwar construction, but a movement for at least the legal power to set up reserves for such a purpose is in progress. The Council of State Governments has prepared model legislation for establishing state public works reserves and enabling municipalities to do likewise. Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and California have laws permitting municipal postwar reserves, and a few other states allow certain classes of cities or public agencies to set aside funds for specific purposes.

Only fourteen of the 108 cities referred to above reported reserves for postwar construction; sixteen others stated that financing plans are in preparation.

Going beyond the public works idea about one hundred cities in Pennsylvania have undertaken "self-appraisals"

at the suggestion of the State Department of Commerce, involving studies of local employment, estimates of the number of people expected to lose their immediate employment after the war, and plans for re-employment by business and industry and on municipal projects. Governor Arthur H. James, writing in the November *Architectural Forum,* said in explanation, "Through analysis of these local facts, each community may know in advance which industries may close at the end of the war, which ones must convert to peacetime production, and what industries have the best chance of prospering because of local markets, raw materials, and skilled labor."

Cities by themselves can do much to ease the transition from war to peace whenever that becomes possible; but they are handicapped by many forces beyond their control. The states are in a better position, particularly as to legal powers, but are also subject to complications beyond their jurisdictions. In the federal field the NRPB is doing important work, with its limited means and scope, to prepare for postwar adjustments, in collaboration with national, state, and municipal agencies.

The federal government as well as states and cities has a large reservoir of public works plans, and these are in an advanced stage of readiness. Whether more comprehensive planning and action to convert the human and material resources of the country to the vast needs and potentialities of peacetime will be possible depends on the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the federal government and on the coöperation of states, cities, and citizens.

State, Municipal Governments Control Own Pay Rates

Following by thirteen days the decision of the War Labor Board on December 15 not to assume jurisdiction in municipal labor disputes,[1] the WLB and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue issued a joint statement to the effect that responsibility for state and municipal salaries and wages would lie with state and local governments.

The statement referred to the procedure that had been established on November 12, 1942, pursuant to the regulations of the Economic Stabilization Director, for approval of wage increases by the WLB and approval of increases in higher salary levels by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. Many wage and salary adjustment proposals have been presented to the Board and the Commissioner, but despite detailed examination there has been no occasion to question the adjustments. This was said to indicate "that statutory budgetary controls are operating to keep salary and wage movements of state and local agencies within very narrow bounds."

The two agencies have accordingly decided that in all cases where an adjustment in wages or salaries by a state, county, or municipal body is necessary to correct maladjustments, inequalities, or gross inequities, and would not raise wages or salaries above prevailing levels in the community, "the adjustments will be deemed approved without the necessity of filing certificates for the information of the Board or Commissioner."

In all other cases the state or local body is requested to consult the Joint Committee on Salaries and Wages, Department of Labor Building, Washington, for advice as to whether the adjustments are in accord with the national stabilization policy. It was emphasized that the duty of public employers to conform to that policy is as plain as that of private employers.

[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, January 1943, p. 32.

In connection with the Newark controversy, which was one of those in which the WLB on December 15 declined to intervene, Governor Charles Edison of New Jersey, who had asked the WLB to review the situation, has stated that he did so because the state, with its outmoded constitution, lacked power to handle it, and the city was also deficient in proper appeal machinery. In New York City, where the Transport Workers Union had sought the intervention of the WLB, a committee of fifteen prominent citizens issued a statement on January 4 calling for immediate establishment of adequate machinery to deal with differences between the union and the city.

Regional Planning Gains in 1942

Development of regional planning as an aid to the war effort on the home front, particularly in meeting problems that cross city and state lines, is reported in a review of 1942 planning activities by the American Society of Planning Officials.

In the city of Baltimore and in Baltimore and Anne Arundel Counties the Baltimore Area Joint Committee, established in November 1941, attacked problems common to city and counties, including streets and highways, zoning, parks, schools, waterworks, and fire protection. In Cleveland the regional association acted as technical adviser to the Cuyahoga County Defense Council on one of the first civilian evacuation programs perfected. In Pennsylvania the Harrisburg Regional Planning Commission worked on traffic relief plans in connection with war industries.

Detroit's mayor appointed a regional planning committee for the metropolitan defense area. In Alabama the Central Planning Committee, including the towns of Florence, Sheffield, Tuscumbia, and Muscle Shoals City, worked with the Tennessee Valley Authority on housing for war workers, site selection, and plans for future development.

A wartime transportation survey, looking toward a master transportation plan for the entire Los Angeles area, was made by the Los Angeles County Regional Planning Commission.

Of larger scope were activities of regional offices of the National Resources Planning Board, the New York Regional Plan Association, the Pacific Northwest War Industries Commission, and the Northwest Regional Council.

A Midwest Regional Planning Commission with headquarters in Chicago was set up by the NRPB, which earlier in the year opened a regional office in San Juan, Puerto Rico. Other regional offices of the NRPB in California and New England were especially active in developing plans for the areas served.

The New York Regional Plan Association worked with business and industry in the area on postwar plans growing out of present economic changes.

As Bonneville and Grand Coulee dams in the Pacific Northwest opened to full production, the Northwest War Industries Commission surveyed industrial possibilities of the area and made recommendations to the War Production Board. The Northwest Regional Council issued its second economic atlas of the region containing detailed information on population, migration, climate, industries, and other matters.

Three Joint Authorities Function in Pennsylvania

At present there are three groups of communities in Pennsylvania utilizing the joint authority principle, according to the December issue of the *Pennsylvania Borough Bulletin*. A fourth authority is inactive. Intercommunity action was at first informal, but in 1935 the legislature authorized the formation of joint sewer boards as advisory and ad-

ministrative agencies; and a 1937 amendment provided that municipalities may jointly organize an authority, as a corporation, for bridges, tunnels, highways, waterworks, sewers and sewage treatment, parks, airports, etc.

Two of the present authorities are in Delaware County, southwest of Philadelphia. Both of these deal with sewers. The Central Delaware County Authority includes five boroughs and three townships, and the Darby Creek Joint Authority consists of representatives of eight boroughs and two townships.

Council-Manager Plan News

A resolution submitted on January 6 to the Council of **New York City** urged the appointment of a committee of fifteen to consider the feasibility of the manager plan for that city.[1] The resolution was introduced by Councilman Louis Cohen, from the borough of the Bronx, who is one of the Democratic group opposed to the fusion administration of Mayor LaGuardia and the Board of Estimate, dominated by the three city-wide elective officials—mayor, comptroller and council president. Mr. Cohen is also secretary of the Bronx County Democratic organization.

He stated that the manager plan is operating successfully in over 500 American cities, and charged that the present administration has not effected the economies hoped for when the existing charter was adopted. He said:

"It may be that the exact form of council-manager government employed in other cities and recommended by informed civic groups is not precisely adaptable to New York City. Only a survey by persons familiar with the manifold problems connected with the conduct of the business of New York City can determine how far the theory is applicable and with what changes it may be employed."

[1]See also p. 115.

In his third term inaugural message to the legislature, on January 6, Governor Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota recommended council-manager government for **Minneapolis**, and proposed that the legislature submit a modernized charter for popular vote in that city, coupling therewith provisions for increased state aid for its schools, its welfare boards and its tax structure. He contended that more assistance would be of little value under the present "archaic" form of the city's government.

Augusta, Maine, and **Augusta, Georgia**, are both showing interest in the manager plan. On December 17 the Kiwanis Club of the Maine city devoted a meeting to an explanation of the plan by George Harrison, a member of the City Council of Portland, Maine, a manager city. On the same day the *Herald* of Augusta, Georgia, carried endorsement of the manager plan by its columnist L—K—S, who urged citizens to study the plan and develop the best form for that city and its problems.

A well attended meeting of **Florida** city managers was held in connection with the annual meeting of the Florida League of Municipalities in Jacksonville on December 10. Fifteen managers from that state and two from neighboring states were present. Among subjects discussed were municipal personnel and finance in wartime, consolidation of activities, economies of operation, and postwar planning.

Twenty-one cities and counties were added to the manager list in 1942, according to the International City Managers' Association, as compared to nineteen in 1941, eighteen in 1940, and twenty in 1939. These twenty-one additions make a total of 561 manager cities and seven counties. Of this number all the counties and 537 cities are in the United States, eighteen cities are in Canada, five are in Ireland, and one

is in Puerto Rico. Charters or general state statutes were adopted in Bennington and Brattleboro, Vermont; Hazel Park and St. Louis, Michigan; Houston, Texas; Indian Hill, Ohio; Laramie, Wyoming; Lowell, Massachusetts; Mechanic Falls, New Portland, and Smyrna, Maine; Petroleum County, Montana; and Trois Rivieres, Quebec. Municipalities that came under the manager plan by ordinance included: Asheboro, North Carolina; Giddings and West Columbia, Texas; Lower Merion Township and West View, Pennsylvania; Ludington, Michigan; Mill Valley, California, where the ordinance was adopted by a vote of the people; and Mountain Brook, Alabama. During the year four cities were investigated and found to be operating under an approved manager plan: Mapleton, Maine, and Weslaco, Texas—charters; and Scottdale, Pennsylvania, and Shorewood, Wisconsin—ordinances.

In 1942 five municipalities defeated proposals to adopt the manager plan as compared to ten in 1941 and twenty-one in 1940. These were Baker, Oregon; Berkley, Michigan; Chester, Vermont; Grand Island, Nebraska; and Newark, New Jersey. One community voted in 1942 to abandon the plan, Bloomfield, Connecticut, effective January 1944. This makes a total of twenty-eight cities that have abandoned the plan in the thirty-four years since the manager plan was inaugurated.

The Association's list includes one municipality (West Columbia, Texas) not previously mentioned in these columns; on the other hand it does not as yet include Coqueville, Oregon, and Palm Springs, California, which adopted manager plans by popular vote in 1942.

Low Voter Interest in Municipal Referenda

The Bureau of the Census has issued a report on city proposals voted on in 1942, based on reports received by November 23 from 206 of the 410 cities with populations exceeding 25,000. Out of the 206 cities, forty-seven submitted 104 proposals to their voters. The data collected included for the first time the number of registered voters, for comparison with the votes cast on the proposals. The average percentage voting on measures was 33, with a range from 68 down to 3.6 per cent in a group of forty-four cities reporting the necessary data. In these cities sixty-nine measures were approved, by votes ranging from 50 per cent of all registered voters down to 2 per cent; the average was 24 per cent.

More Cities Adopt the Merit System

In addition to the six counties listed elsewhere in this issue[1] the merit system was approved at the November elections in East Paterson and Point Pleasant, New Jersey. Civil service proposals for four other municipalities and one county in that state were defeated.

The city council of Ironwood, Michigan, has been authorized to establish a merit system for all city employees as the result of a charter amendment adopted in November.

Ways of Meeting Public Personnel Problems

Based on observations of the trend of thought at the annual conference of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, twenty-one recommendations for meeting personnel problems have been submitted to the California State Personnel Board by William K. Smith, acting executive officer. Among major points are the following:

1. That residence restrictions be eliminated at least for the duration of the war.

[1]See p. 111.

2. That "duration appointments" be provided for in classes where shortages exist.

3. That more effective use be made of the probationary period in rejecting persons unsuited for employment.

4. That practically all examinations be opened to both men and women.

5. That consideration be given to provisions for cash overtime payments to employees paid on a monthly basis.

6. That a study be made of the feasibility of a system of manpower priorities for state agencies.

7. That a study be made of the skills and abilities of present state employees so as to make the most effective use thereof.

8. That non-essential operations and paper work in state agencies be curtailed; and that persons released from work in curtailed private industries be approached for state employment.

Legislatures of 42 States in Session

Forty-four state legislatures meet in regular session this year—forty-two convening in January and two in the spring—according to the Council of State Governments which points out that this is the second time—the other being in 1917—when so many state legislatures have met with the nation actually at war.

The legislatures with sessions beginning last month are those in Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

Florida's legislature convenes April 6 and Alabama's May 4. The Alabama legislature, which heretofore met quadrennially, will meet biennially beginning this year.

The volume of state legislation during a war period is not likely to be much heavier than usual, according to experience during the World War, the Council predicts.

Ten of the states meeting regularly in 1943 called special sessions during 1942—their "off" year. Most of the special sessions were called solely for the purpose of meeting war emergency problems. They were in California and Michigan (two each) and in Alabama, Arizona, Connecticut, Illinois, Maine, Massachusetts, Missouri, and Pennsylvania.

One-House Legislature Again Urged in Missouri

Renewal of efforts to obtain a legislature of one house only[1] has been announced by the Crusaders of Missouri, nonpartisan organization for political reform. The attempt will be directed primarily toward favorable action by the coming constitutional convention. If that is unsuccessful it is expected that new initiative petitions will be circulated.

Ohio Penalized under Hatch Act

On January 6, as a sequel to previous action in the case of Harry J. Patterson,[2] the United States Civil Service Commission directed the Federal Security Agency to withhold from its grants to the state of Ohio or its Bu-

[1]See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1942, p. 345, and September 1942, p. 449.

[2]See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, January 1942, p. 38.

reau of Unemployment Compensation the sum of $7,200, representing two years' salary for Mr. Patterson, who had been discharged from the Bureau for political activity but was re-employed six weeks later by another state agency in violation of the Hatch Act provision prohibiting such re-employment within eighteen months. This is the first case of its kind to arise since the adoption of the act.

Eight Questions from Vermont

In a 1943 message to the people of Vermont, Governor William H. Wills said that never before have we so vividly realized that we have a pattern of government and of life utterly unlike the totalitarian pattern of Germany. He then propounded the following questions:

Cannot the home make more liberal contribution to the attitudes and insights and behaviors which will enable youth to make democracy work as a complete success?

Cannot schools and colleges provide a more vital, practical, and dynamic introduction and initiation of youth into their share and part of the public life of town, city, state, nation, world?

Cannot the churches be more aware and wiser in their statements and applications of moral and spiritual values to the world of reality?

Cannot the public library really be the master force for democracy that Librarian of Congress McLeish says it is or should be?

Cannot public buildings and streets and monuments do more to create an inspiring influence and atmosphere?

Cannot town meetings and other official gatherings be marked by more dignity, more significance, more sentiment?

Cannot all organizations of citizens more fully perform their primary fundamental duties as schools of citizenship, the universal profession?

Cannot individuals come to realize to the full that there is no such thing as a private person, a person of himself, by himself, for himself?

Blanket Suspensions of State Labor Laws Opposed

Seven agencies of the federal government joined in a declaration early in January that long-time production has been aided by preserving state laws regulating hours and conditions of labor. These agencies were the War, Navy, and Labor Departments, the War Production Board, War Manpower Commission, Maritime Commission, and Office of Defense Transportation. They found no need of blanket suspension of labor standards in any of the states.

Billboard Regulation Aided in Vermont

The "right of view" possessed by an owner or occupant of land abutting on a highway does not include the right to display advertising matter, other than for a business conducted on the property, according to the Vermont Supreme Court in *Kelbro, Inc.* v. *Myrick*, decided early in January. The plaintiff, a billboard concern, had obtained an injunction against the Vermont Secretary of State, restraining him from removing certain of the plaintiff's billboards for violation of statutory provisions as to distance from the highway and highway intersections. The legislation was claimed to be unconstitutional. The Supreme Court dismissed the injunction. It emphasized that billboard advertising is more a matter of the use of public property—the highway—than of private property.

On a point of alleged discrimination by the legislature in favor of certain classes of billboard advertisers, the court said there was no inherent right to use the highways for commercial purposes, and the legislature could permit billboard advertising by some persons and not by others, for the general good of the public.

Citizen Action
Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Communities Urged to Solve Postwar Problems

U. S. Chamber Calls Civic, Labor, Business Groups to Examine Future of Cities.

TO encourage communities throughout the country to examine their postwar futures, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States has organized **The Conference Committee on Urban Problems.**

"The National Chamber undertook to set up this Conference Committee as a result of suggestions made in the first instance by men in the government," said F. Stuart Fitzpatrick, secretary of the Committee, at its first meeting in December.

"These men were very much concerned with the situation which will confront our cities following the war. They felt that non-governmental groups, professional, civic, business, and labor, could perform a useful work by encouraging through their local contacts in communities throughout the country the undertaking now of studies which would examine realistically the postwar possibilities in these communities for maintaining employment and providing useful outlets for investment funds."

Committee Membership

Chairman of the Committee is Mr. Leyton E. Carter, long known to REVIEW readers as secretary and director of the Cleveland Foundation. The Committee's secretary, Mr. Fitzpatrick, is manager of the Construction and Civic Development Department of the National Chamber.

Represented on the committee are more than seventy-five civic, business, labor and professional groups.

Outlining further the committee's field of interest Mr. Carter told the first meeting:

". . . While called together to discuss urban and related industry problems and developments from the point of view of employment and investment opportunities, we will concern ourselves only incidentally with the complex social, economic, and political factors which are involved in the proposals for adoption by this country of a full employment policy after the war. Our task is the more modest one of taking a look at our cities, which are admittedly in a traffic, housing, industrial, and financial tangle, and of seeing what we can agree on as to helpful measures to get them out of this tangle, having in mind two things:

Findings for Local Uses

"First, that we are aiming our suggestions at local organizations, and second, that we assume that in reaching suggested solutions for our urban problems we will be able to suggest important opportunities both for useful employment and for sound outlets for investment funds, private and public."

The opening session of the Committee considered problems cities will face in converting war industries to peace uses, in financing improved highway and street systems, and in providing needed community facilities including housing. Speakers were Thomas H. MacDonald, Commissioner, U. S. Public Roads Administration; Donald H. Davenport, Bureau of Labor Statistics; Dr. Glenn E. McLaughlin, Chief of the Industrial Section, National Resources Planning Board.

A program committee is being set up to plan an agenda for the future work and meetings of the Committee.

May Revive Wayne County Home Rule Campaign

Michigan voters last fall rejected an initiated constitutional amendment which would have provided home rule for Wayne County. The vote was so close, however, that an effort to resubmit the same or a like amendment in 1944 seems feasible. The brunt of the 1942 campaign for Wayne County home rule was carried by the State Committee for Proposal No. 2, Clarence E. Wilcox serving as chairman of a membership representative of all parts of the state. In addition, a number of citizens served as chairmen of specific county committees.

The state committee maintained headquarters with a campaign director and a supervisor. It forwarded instructions to the county chairmen. They were requested to organize county committees; to establish speakers' bureaus, to provide for a local publicity director, to contact local newspapers and radio programs, to arrange for distribution of literature, and to provide personal contacts with voters.

Local Groups Assisted

To assist local groups the state committee issued a mimeographed handbook for speakers and provided ample supplies of a brief pamphlet of handy pocket size. This leaflet contained a forceful, short, parallel statement of the existing county organization and the proposed principles of administration incorporated in the amendment. It was particularly effective as a follow-up to a five- or ten-minute talk before clubs and organizations. Of similar value was a publication of the League of Women Voters.

The state committee also supplied local committees with a series of five mimeographed press releases. These emphasized why Wayne County reorganization required a constitutional amendment, how the amendment was placed on the ballot by initiative petition, how current defects in Wayne County organization could be met within the terms of the amendment. The state committee also encouraged the work in local areas by seeking newspaper support, by using the radio and sending speakers and representatives on tours into particular areas.

One of the most useful efforts was the sending of 100,000 postal cards throughout the state over the personal signatures of residents of the Detroit area. Lack of funds, however, prevented the state committee from sending into the field a sufficient number of representatives and from maintaining adequate, active contacts with county chairmen. Exhaustion of campaign funds in the last two weeks proved fatal, for the opponents of Wayne County home rule redoubled their efforts during this period.

In Wayne County the state committee was fortunate in having the enthusiastic support of the metropolitan press. The daily, urban newspapers throughout the state gave good press space and editorial support to the campaign. Opposition was most frequently and strongly encountered among rural groups and rural weeklies.

Help from Washtenaw

In Washtenaw County a committee representative of the cities and villages in the county was organized. Specifically, Ann Arbor, Ypsilanti, Milan, Manchester, and Chelsea were represented by the personnel of the Washtenaw County Committee on Home Rule for Wayne County. A member of the League of Women Voters, serving as one of Ann Arbor's members on the committee, acted as chairman of the speakers' bureau. Opportunities were secured for five-, ten-, and fifteen-minute talks before such organizations as the

Kiwanis Club, Lions Club, public school PTA's, women's clubs, organized labor, veterans, county and municipal employees. In addition to short talks before clubs and organizations, a more adequate discussion was presented in the Ann Arbor Community Forum.

The Washtenaw Committee wrote its own releases for local county newspapers, the chairman serving as publicity director. These local stories emphasized the geographical proximity of Washtenaw to Wayne and the importance of being good neighbors by helping Wayne County out of a serious dilemma. The *Ann Arbor News* gave good news space and substantial editorial support. The *Washtenaw Post-Tribune* invited the chairman of the campaign committee to write a "guest" editorial. The support of this newspaper was important because it reached farm and labor groups throughout the county. Material was sent to every newspaper, daily and weekly, in the county. The county affairs committee of the Ann Arbor Citizens' Council issued a concise statement supporting the Wayne County amendment. This report was carried in the press and in the *Citizens' News,* publication of the Council.

Rural-Urban Conflict

An analysis of the vote in Washtenaw County demonstrates the urban-rural difference of opinion. The cities of Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti, as well as Ann Arbor Township, gave the amendment an overwhelming majority which the rural areas could not overcome. The vote in Washtenaw County was: Yes, 7,252; No, 5757, with some 75 per cent of those voting for governor casting ballots on the issue. The Ann Arbor Citizens' Council is readily geared through its committees and ward-representation groups to carry on an action campaign and the vote in this city was a two-and-a-half-to-one majority in favor of the amendment. However, opposition of the State Grange to Wayne County home rule carried more weight in rural Washtenaw townships than all the efforts of the citizen-action groups.

In spite of a reasonably well organized state campaign, the amendment was defeated by some 23,000 votes. The result must be judged in the light of previous efforts in 1934 and 1936 for home rule amendments. This campaign, unlike previous ones, almost carried to victory. Another day, perhaps 1944, should be another story, provided a better integrated and more comprehensive educational campaign is maintained throughout the state.

A. W. Bromage
University of Michigan

Civic Federation Surveys Promise Results in Chicago

The **Chicago Civic Federation** was incorporated in February 1894, and thus is among the older of the middle west's citizen-supported groups working for more effective local government. Its early activities were of a rather general nature, but as the years passed more and more of the attention of its staff was directed to the organic and financial aspects of Chicago's governments.

In 1932 the Federation and the **Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency,** which was established in 1910, merged. Both organizations had, for several years, been carrying on similar work and it was felt that greater results could be achieved more economically if they worked as one.

The best definition of the objectives of the Federation is that carried on its masthead:

> A citizen agency for promoting efficiency and economy in the organization and management of public business; for guarding against

wasteful expenditure of public funds and excessive taxes; and for furnishing the public with accurate information concerning governmental revenues and expenditures.

The organization is supported entirely by local taxpayers interested in more effective and economical government. Its governing board is made up of twenty-seven trustees selected for their knowledge of and interest in local affairs. The trustees elect from their own number a president, three vice-presidents, treasurer, and executive secretary. The first five of these officers form the executive committee which handles all routine matters. The assistant executive secretary is appointed by the trustees on the recommendation of the executive secretary.

In addition to officers and trustees, there is a large advisory committee. Its members participate in all trustee meetings. Technically they do not vote, but practically they have equal influence in determination of policy. Character, broad civic interest, and acquaintance with tax problems are primary considerations in choosing trustees and advisory committee members. A well balanced representation of all local taxpayer interest also is desired.

Whenever possible, it has been the policy of the Federation to work with elected officials to secure more effective and economical government. This has not meant that the recommendations of the Federation ever have been in any way dictated, or always fully agreed to, by the elected officials. The policy has resulted, however, in slow but sure improvement in many phases of local government.

During the period 1932-1938, the Federation's work was largely concerned with the financial aspects of Chicago's six local governing units—i.e., budgets, tax levies, accounting systems, audits, etc.

Administrative Study

Early in 1939 Mayor Kelly conferred with representatives of the Federation concerning the growing difficulties of the city's corporate fund. The Mayor expressed interest in the suggestion that an administrative study might develop possibilities of economies. The Federation was not in a position at that time to direct such a study. A year later, however, with the coöperation and financial assistance of the **Chicago Association of Commerce**, it became possible to inaugurate detailed studies of certain phases of the city's operations. This study was continued in 1941 with emphasis on the water fund and again in 1942 with particular attention devoted to the Bureau of Streets and to inspectional services. The staff was directed by the Civic Federation and reported to a survey committee composed of three representatives of the city and one man representing both the Association of Commerce and the Federation.

Direct reductions of about $1,000,000 in the 1941 corporate fund budget resulted from the staff's work in 1940 and another $1,000,000 might well be claimed as the indirect effect of the survey. Further economies of approximately $500,000 were achieved in 1942, although these were offset by increased appropriations for defense purposes. The final report on the city survey will lay the foundation for fundamental improvements for civil service, purchasing, and other administrative procedures.

Cook County, the Sanitary District of Chicago, and the Chicago Board of Education each appropriated sums of money in their 1941 budgets for administrative survey of their principal operating funds. Citizen members of the Survey Commission were nominated by the Chicago Association of Commerce

and the Civic Federation. The Civic Federation was, in each instance, selected as the agency to supervise the carrying out of the detailed studies.

County Changes Needed

Cook County is—and will so remain until the state constitution can be amended—a whole conglomeration of governments within itself. Recommendations for a reduction of about $1,000,000 in personnel costs were largely ignored in 1942, but there is prospect that a large part of the survey program will be realized when the 1943 budget is passed. Already accomplished is a complete revision of the county's antiquated purchasing system. A modern compensation classification plan appears to have better than an even chance of success. Reduction or complete elimination of the county highway police has been one of the main points of contention in the county study.

Definite economies of $275,000 were achieved in the Board of Education survey on the basis of the preliminary report submitted late in 1942. The final report will be released shortly and it is hoped that fundamental improvements may be achieved.

The Civic Federation believes that the proper admixture of sound and tried theory, friendly contacts with officials, and the widest possible publicity and coöperation of citizen groups in presenting either facts or theories, will result in slow but sure improvement in our complicated local governmental setup.

DOUGLAS SUTHERLAND
HARLAND C. STOCKWELL
Civic Federation of Chicago

Civic League Urges Voters to Take Part in Politics

The **Civic League of Westchester** (Westchester County, New York) has appointed a Committee on Self-Government which will seek to find the reason for the lack of interest in local government, and to encourage citizens to participate in the selection and election of candidates for office.

Before the fall registration days the League published a full page "Political Primer" in the Westchester County newspapers. It urged every citizen to enroll in a party, to begin at the bottom and work with his district leader or to go farther and become a district leader, infusing new blood into both parties.

Information for Voters

A list of the sources of political information available to the average voter was published; on the page also appeared a complete list of the elected officials of the county, with spaces to fill in local officials of the villages and cities. Westchester officers, town chairmen, and the members of the State Committees of both the Republican and Democratic parties also were given.

The tenor of the primer is embodied in the closing sentence: "Democracy is probably the most important moral and social enterprise that mankind has ever attempted. If it is to survive we must not only feel democracy emotionally, but every American must actually participate in its practical accomplishment."

The Committee feels that the "Political Primer" was well received, but that the voter needs continual stimulation to arouse his interest in local politics. The average citizen seems to feel that American democracy is a miraculous institution that will keep on living and functioning without any attention on the part of those for whom it is designed.

The committee plans to continue its work, for it is only when the public is jarred into action again and again,

year after year, that individuals participate to make the party system represent the citizens.

The "Political Primer" statistics show what a small minority controls nominations and elections in Westchester County as well as in the nation. The Committee felt the Primer would serve as a starter to stimulate further inquiry and study; unfortunately interest seems to be shown primarily by those who were already active in party work. Evidently an even simpler analysis of the basic fundamentals of representative government must be given in easy doses to John Doe.

For example: Are you an enrolled member of your political party? Do you know your election district leader? Do you realize that your district leader is your representative in the political convention that controls nominations? Are you willing to be a district leader yourself? Why shouldn't you know your district leader and your party officers just as you know members of the American Legion, the school board, the church vestry, the Girl and Boy Scouts, or the members of the social organizations in which you take an interest? How can you expect your government to work in a truly representative fashion if you and your friends pay no attention to it? This is the type of question that needs asking and answering.

Why don't we start in our schools and in our homes to make it logical, normal, and natural for us all to know and take part in the politics of our government?

Certainly, we can't have and won't have a democratic form of government if the voters continue to "leave it to the politicians" and take no interest themselves.

ALLAN COGGESHALL, *Chairman*
Committee on Self Government
Civic League of Westchester

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Knox County, Tennessee, Reorganization Delayed

Citizens temporarily defeated in efforts for new charter

THE PEOPLE of Knox County, Tennessee, apparently will have to wait at least another two years before they will have opportunity to vote on a plan to modernize their county government. The Knox County legislative delegation, chosen in the November general election, has indicated that it will not introduce a bill calling for a referendum on the question of reorganization. Among the reasons advanced for delaying a vote on the proposed plan were (1) the present system is satisfactory, and (2) during a war is no time to change the governmental structure. One candidate expressed opposition to the proposal on the ground that no changes should be made in the county government when so many young men are away at war and thus unable to vote!

The government of Knox County has all the defects found in other Tennessee counties as well as some of its own. It has been characterized as "an unimproved governmental grist-mill which has long been hopelessly out of date, inefficient and uneconomical." A Quarterly County Court, composed of justices of the peace elected from civil districts, constitutes its central governing body. This body of thirty-eight members is too large and unwieldy for effective action. Because of its size, there has been a tendency to divide its work among some eighteen paid committees, a practice which disperses

responsibility and weakens control by the people.

Since 1937 the government of Knox County has been complicated further by the establishment of a second governing body, a Board of County Commissioners. This board, consisting of three commissioners elected by the people, is virtually independent of the Quarterly County Court as to certain designated legislative and administrative functions including highways, health, public welfare, and some financial matters. While the legislation creating the Board of County Commissioners may have been well intentioned, it has not worked out in practice. As pointed out by Griffenhagen and Associates, in their survey of Knox County government in 1940, the Board "was superimposed on the antiquated organization already in existence. The transfer of functions from the old organization to the new was not expertly done. The lines of cleavage were not well drawn, nor were provisions for concerted action between the old and new well established. Jagged scars of overlapping jurisdiction and duplicated powers were left, as well as broad areas in which failures to provide for unification of effort leave gaps in the structure. On the whole, what may have been a worthy effort operated to confound the confusion already existing."

Modified Manager Plan Proposed

Provisions of the Tennessee constitution requiring election of the sheriff, justices of the peace, trustees, and other county officials seriously handicap efforts to improve Knox County's government.[1] It is impossible under the constitution to abolish the Quarterly County Court and substitute another legislative body elected from the county at large. The judicial courts have held, however, that certain changes can be effected in the Court through state legislation. Hence while constitutional changes remain a necessary prerequisite to thorough-going reorganization it is nevertheless possible to secure some improvements through legislative action.

Under the proposed county reorganization bill for Knox County, the following improvements would be effected:

1. The Board of County Commissioners would be abolished and all county affairs vested in the hands of the Quarterly County Court. The size of the Court would be reduced from thirty-eight to five members.

2. The Quarterly County Court would be required to appoint a county executive who would serve as administrative head and be responsible for administration of all county affairs under jurisdiction of the County Court. The county executive would be appointed with regard to merit only and would serve at the pleasure of the court. All administrative officials whose election is not required by the constitution would be made appointive; such appointments to be made by the county executive subject to civil service regulations.

3. The functions of the county would be departmentalized. A department of finance would be established and made responsible for administration of the budget, for assessment of property for taxation, and for centralized purchasing and accounting. Furthermore, an annual outside audit of the books of each office of the county handling county funds would be required, a practice now followed by only a few

[1] See Howard P. Jones, "Constitutional Barriers to Improvement in County Government," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, August 1932, Supplement.

Tennessee counties.[2]

4. Other departments would include a department of highways and public works with responsibility for construction, improvement, and maintenance of highways and other public works; a department of health and welfare with control over all health and welfare activities; and such other departments as may be required.

While the people of Knox County have been defeated temporarily in their efforts to secure improved and more economical government, it seems certain the issue is not dead. Improvement in the governmental structure of Knox and other Tennessee counties cannot be delayed indefinitely. When the people become sufficiently conscious of the waste and inefficiency now practiced, the "exponents of the status quo" will no longer be able to prevent adoption of improved methods of government.

M. H. SATTERFIELD
Tennessee Valley Authority

Kenosha County, Wisconsin, Builds Fire Cisterns

Kenosha County, Wisconsin, is building a county-wide system of fire cisterns for protection of rural communities having inadequate water supplies, according to a recent report of the American Municipal Association. Eighteen cisterns, one to a village, will be constructed. They will be placed in areas where buildings are clustered in order to make it possible to protect all points of the rural community by pumping directly from the cistern. The cisterns also will be convenient refill stations for tank trucks in fighting fires beyond the central community.

The cisterns will be built of reinforced concrete completely underground with only the manhole cover visible. They may be filled from nearby wells or by rain water from roofs of nearby buildings. Most of the cisterns will be located on private property with easements obtained from the land owners.

Six More Counties Adopt Merit System

Six more county governments will operate under the merit system as a result of affirmative votes in the November elections, the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada announced recently. They are Wayne County, Michigan (Detroit), St. Louis County, Minnesota (Duluth), Ramsey County, Minnesota[1] (St. Paul), San Mateo County, California, Burlington and Warren Counties, New Jersey.

In the large counties, namely Wayne, St. Louis, and Ramsey with populations exceeding 200,000 each, the newly adopted merit system will embrace 4500, 800, and 300 employees respectively. Wayne County's system will be administered by the county, but the remainder will make greater use of state civil service machinery.

The number of counties under the merit system now totals 226.

Wayne County to Continue Home Rule Fight

That Wayne County, Michigan, will try again for home rule is the hope of those taking active part in the recent campaign, lost by a narrow margin. An interesting account of that campaign, and prospects for the future, are described by Dr. A. W. Bromage, of the University of Michigan, on page 105 of this issue.

[2]See M. H. Satterfield, *County Government and Administration in the Tennessee Valley States,* Government Printing Office, Washington, 1940, pp. 43-46.

[1]See also "Two Minnesota Counties Adopt Merit System," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, January 1942, pp. 44-45.

Taxation and Finance
Edited by Wade S. Smith

Will Higher Federal Taxes Depress Local Collections?

City officials prepare for possible slump in receipts

ONE of the most troublesome problems facing local officials as they prepared their 1943 budgets was that of forecasting probable revenues, and especially that of trying to determine what effects the higher rates and broadened scope of the federal income taxes would have on local property tax collections. Budgets which have thus far become available for analysis indicate a very general feeling that local collections will be adversely affected, but there is little agreement, apparently, as to how much of a reduction will be experienced.

One factor of some importance is how well—or how poorly—the local tax collection calendar coincides with the dates for initial and quarterly payments of the federal income tax. Where the first, or final, delinquency date on local property levies falls before March 15, there is some disposition to feel that no very great changes in local collection trends will occur until later on. Where, however, the local levy becomes delinquent, either in whole or in part, shortly after March 15, or later in the year, more anxiety is evident.

Concern is also felt in communities where a considerable portion of the property tax is paid by middle-income group homeowners, as in a number of the more substantial residential suburbs adjacent to large metropolitan centers. Increased income in this group has not been general, or has not been in proportion to the increased earnings of working-class communities, and there is considerable fear that the higher federal levies will drastically affect property taxpaying ability.

In all situations there is evident also a conviction that large numbers of federal income taxpayers, both new and old, have not yet determined approximately or exactly what their federal income tax will be. As the date for filing federal returns nears, and calculations are made, these taxpayers are expected in many instances to suffer a rude shock. Finding that the amount due the federal government is much more than they had anticipated, and with inadequate or no accumulations to meet the federal tax, these laggards are expected to meet the federal payments by letting their local property taxes go delinquent.

To what extent these fears will prove well grounded will of course not be evident until after March 15, at the earliest, and little conclusive evidence will be in hand until near the end of the year. It appears to this column, however, that some of the more extreme expectations will not materialize.

In the first place, it is believed that few homeowners will be found in the class of the laggards who have not yet informed themselves as to the prospective amounts they will owe the federal government this year. While homeowners as a class are admittedly not financial wizards—else many of them would never have crawled under the mortgage burdens they willingly assumed in the 1920's—they are accustomed in the main to figuring tax and mortgage payments and to making advance provision for the payments. Making the provision will not be easy, of course, and the big danger is that the concessions and indulgences granted to delinquent taxpayers in the 1930's may have loosened the moral

fibre and determination to pay on the part of some of these.

In the second place, it is to be remembered that the bulk of the property tax, except in a few special cases, is paid not by homeowners but by business, industrial, and real estate operators. The larger of these customarily provide reserves in advance for all their tax obligations, and may be expected to do so except in cases where the businesses are actually insolvent or are being liquidated because of war restrictions diminishing their volume of trade. In war boom communities—of which there are a considerable number—even the little fellows among the business and corporate taxpayers will probably face no insurmountable difficulties in meeting their tax obligations.

Finally, it must be observed that few taxpayers who own property subject to local ad valorem rates will fail to discover that property taxes are a deductible item in figuring their federal taxes. In former years, with the federal rates moderate, the value of this deduction was often nominal and sometimes non-existent. Now, however, with the personal exemption low and the initial rates high, every dollar of property tax paid represents as a minimum a saving of nineteen cents in federal income tax, with the saving proportionately greater as the surtax rates increase.

Every property taxpayer will of course have to figure out for himself just how much the deduction of his property taxes is worth to him, but it is evident that the saving if property taxes are paid will be a great incentive to meeting the payment, even by resort to borrowing. This will be particularly true when it is observed that in the postwar period, when federal income tax rates descend from their wartime peak, the deduction value of payments clearing up delinquencies will be much less than the present value of keeping property taxes current.

Lucrative Investment Proposed for Cities

In the closing days of the Seventy-seventh Congress a bill with interesting possibilities for local government units was introduced by Congressman Alfred F. Beiter of New York. The bill (H. R. 7867), directs the treasury to establish a special series of war savings bonds for sale to states, local units, the territories, and the insular possessions, with the object of providing an investment outlet for funds presently being accumulated for postwar public works. The bonds would be sold on a discount basis, and would mature in five years, with interest, price, and redemption value to be such that the yield would be 4 per cent if held to maturity or if cashed after the end of the war and 3½ per cent if cashed during the war or before maturity. The bonds would be neither transferable nor negotiable.

Proposed Yield a Subsidy

A yield of 4 per cent, or even 3½ per cent, is so far above anything which local units—or anyone else, for that matter—can presently secure in first grade securities that the bill will surely have wide support among local officials. As a matter of fact, such high yields might very well fit into a comprehensive program of planning for postwar public works, since they are sufficiently high to constitute a direct subsidy to local government.

This subsidy would be evident to all officials and taxpayers—especially when it is remembered that much of the Treasury's financing is done at 1½ per cent to 1¾ per cent, and the widely sold series E War Savings Bonds, which carry the highest interest of any U. S. issues now being sold, carry but 2.9

per cent if held to maturity. And being evident and substantial, it might well serve as an incentive and stimulus to the accumulation of funds now for use later. To this extent passage of the bill would serve a highly useful purpose, although of course the use of the bonds locally would depend on a number of other factors.

Treasury Opposition

Considerable opposition to the bill—which Mr. Beiter intends to reintroduce in the new Congress—may of course be expected from the Treasury, which understandably wants to borrow money to finance the war at the lowest possible cost and would certainly be reluctant to establish precedent for interest rates higher than those now prevailing. This reluctance might well be concurred in by the Congress after some deliberation, and it is certain that many local officials would view with alarm any action which would tend to break through the present interest rate ceilings as influenced by rates on federal obligations.

Local government taxpayers have, after all, a very considerable stake in maintaining low-cost public borrowing; they have profited by it tremendously during the last ten years, both to finance capital projects and to refund old obligations at lower interest rates, and they will have increasing need of low-cost borrowing during the postwar years. If a special, high-yield, Treasury issue for local governments such as Mr. Beiter proposes served to drive the initial wedge into existing interest levels and start an upward movement which became general by the time cities were again entering the money market to finance postwar relief programs and public works, the subsidy inherent in a present 4 per cent yield would be lost many times over.

Census Bureau Revises City Reporting

It has been noted here previously that in recent years the usefulness of the Census Bureau's *Financial Statistics of Cities* has been progressively enhanced by a more realistic attitude toward the actualities of municipal finance and the recognition that local financial transactions couldn't be added into a few grand totals and still be meaningful.

Beginning with the volume for 1937, prepared under the direction of Mr. C. E. Rightor as chief statistician of the Division of State and Local Government, a number of much needed changes were made, including conspicuously the segregation of those transactions for public service enterprises from those for purely governmental purposes. In the preliminary report on 1941,[1] with Mr. E. R. Gray now chief statistician, further desirable changes are made.

The new report preserves the segregation of public service enterprises, and introduces—although incompletely as yet—a segregation of so-called long term debt on the same basis. A few cities—ten out of the ninety-two of over 100,000 covered—do not have records making it possible to set up complete group totals showing separately net long-term debt incurred for governmental purposes and the net incurred for public service enterprises; it is to be hoped that in another year the Division will solve the problem of how to estimate the share of lumped sinking funds which may be fairly held applicable to general purpose debt in the case of the few cities where adequate sinking fund records are not presently kept.

The real innovation this year is the elimination from the general govern-

[1] *Financial Statistics of Cities: 1941.* Volume 3—preliminary. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. December 31, 1942.

ment section of trust funds. Heretofore, the totals shown as governmental revenues have included trust fund receipts. As any one who takes the trouble to think about it knows, such receipts are revenues of trust funds, but are by their very nature not governmental revenues of the unit receiving them. Nonetheless, these items have been added in heretofore, inflating the total of "city revenue."

Another change is in the treatment of payments on debt. Heretofore, only interest payments have been shown as an expenditure. In the data for 1941, provision for debt retirement is included and shown. With this addition, the data begin to take on a completeness previously lacking.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Governor Edison Joins P. R. Council

Manager—P. R. Proposal in New York City Council

GOVERNOR Charles Edison of New Jersey has accepted the invitation of the trustees of the Proportional Representation League (now functioning as a department of the National Municipal League) to serve as a member of the P. R. League's Advisory Council. His reply to the invitation says, "I am glad to accept because I have long been interested in the principle of proportional representation."

Governor Edison's public sponsorship is peculiarly appropriate and helpful to P. R. at the present time because of his active leadership in the movement for a new constitution in the state of New Jersey. Advocates of P. R. in that state are hopeful that constitutional revision will at least remove present possible barriers to future adoptions.

A list of the present officers and council members of the P. R. League will be found at the end of this department.

Manager Plan Urged to Go with New York's P. R.

Councilman Louis Cohen of the Bronx, who has been the most active opponent of P. R. in New York City, has withdrawn from the attack, temporarily at least, and come forward with a proposal that, since the people of New York have expressed a preference for P. R., they should have also its customary associate, the city manager plan.

At the first council meeting of the new year he introduced the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, informed opinion based upon exhaustive study by unbiased civic organizations has led to the general conclusion that the so-called council-manager form of municipal government is the best device for the economical and businesslike administration of city government, and

"WHEREAS, the experience with this form of city government in over five hundred cities in the United States has been satisfactory, and

"WHEREAS, in numerous instances this form of municipal government has been found to produce most satisfactory results when coupled with a council elected by proportional representation, and

"WHEREAS, the council-manager form of municipal government is widely recognized as a peculiarly American contribution to the theory of local government, and

"WHEREAS, by amendments to the charter of the City of New York, in effect January 1, 1938, that charter erected a municipal governmental

structure peculiarly adaptable to the council-manager form of city government, and

"WHEREAS, notwithstanding the reforms in city government effected by said charter amendments the ultimate in efficiency and economy in the government of the City of New York has not as yet been attained, and

"WHEREAS, thorough study of the council-manager form of municipal government should be undertaken to determine its adaptability to the peculiar problems of the operation of the government of the City of New York and should be initiated under the auspices of an authoritative governmental agency in said city and should result in an informative report to such agency and to the taxpayers of said city to determine what changes, if any, should be made to the charter of the City of New York to effect better administration of and further economies in the government of said city; now therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, that the Council of the City of New York does hereby direct that there be appointed by the Rules Committee of said Council, with the approval of said Council, a committee of fifteen persons to investigate the adaptability of the council-manager form of municipal government to the City of New York and to report back to the said Council, on or before the 18th day of May, 1943, on the desirability of amending the charter of the City of New York to effect such change in the governmental structure of said city or to recommend any changes in the said charter to effectuate a more economical and businesslike administration of the government of said city, said committee to include five members of the City Council."

In a release accompanying the introduction of the resolution Mr. Cohen developed the advantages of the manager plan further and commented on th fact that in this country "New Yor City is the only city that does not hav a city manager form of governmen where the council is elected by pro portional representation. Similarly, Ne York City is the only city where th powers of the city council in matter of appropriation, etc., are severely re stricted and curtailed."

When the charter revision commis sion was working on the draft of th present charter in 1936 most of th leading civic bodies recommended th combination of the manager plan an P. R. which is used in the other Amer can P. R. cities, but the manager pla part of the recommendation was reject ed by the commission, partly becaus P. R. was being submitted as a separat question and its adoption could not b taken for granted.

Because the New York City Counc was given far less power than the cou cils of other P. R. cities, it has receive less attention from the voters at elec tion time. In consequence the beneficia results of P. R., though striking in com parison to results in the old Board o Aldermen, have been less extensiv than in most of the cities where th council has been given full control ove the city government.

Annual P. R. Meeting Omitted

Because of the request of the federa government that conventions be omit ted wherever possible to conserv transportation facilities, and the dec sion of the National Municipal League with which the P. R. League has alway met in recent years, not to hold it annual convention, no meeting of th Proportional Representation Leagu was held in 1942.

With the sufferance of the League' members the trustees of the P. R League, whose terms would normall

have expired with an annual election in the fall of 1942, will continue to function until another meeting and election can be held. The fact that all the trustees have been re-elected each year without contest for several years past makes it seem likely that this emergency expedient will be generally acceptable.

Voting membership in the P. R. League is open without extra dues to all members in good standing in the National Municipal League. Applications should be sent to the P. R. League's assistant secretary and treasurer, Elsie S. Parker, at the National Municipal League, 299 Broadway, New York.

Officers of the P. R. League

The present officers and advisory council members of the Proportional Representation League, Inc., are as follows:

President: A. R. Hatton, Dripping Springs, Texas

Vice-Presidents:
Thomas Raeburn White, Philadelphia
John R. Commons, Madison, Wis.
Mrs. Alice Thacher Post, Washington, D. C.

Honorary Secretary: C. G. Hoag, Haverford, Penna.

Executive Secretary: George H. Hallett, Jr., New York City

Field Secretary: Walter J. Millard, Cincinnati, Ohio

Treasurer and Assistant Secretary: Elsie S. Parker, New York City

Honorary Vice-Presidents:
John H. Humphreys, London, Secretary of the P. R. Society of Great Britain
Ronald Hooper, St. James, Manitoba, Canada

ADVISORY COUNCIL
(Trustees indicated by asterisks)

Albert S. Bard, New York City
Ex-Governor Robert P. Bass, Peterboro, N. H.
Charles A. Beard, New Milford, Conn.
William E. Boynton, Ashtabula, Ohio
Harold S. Buttenheim, New York City
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, New Rochelle, N. Y.
*Richard S. Childs, New York City
*Paul H. Douglas, Chicago, Ill.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis, Mo.
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
*C. A. Dykstra, Madison, Wis.
Governor Charles Edison, Trenton, N. J.
Oliver T. Erickson, Seattle, Wash.
Charles G. Fenwick, Bryn Mawr, Penna.
Cyrus J. Fitton, Hamilton, Ohio
Christopher M. Gallup, North Stonington, Conn.
Mrs. George Gellhorn, St. Louis, Mo.
*A. R. Hatton, Dripping Springs, Texas
Julian G. Hearne, Jr., Wheeling, W. Va.
*C. G. Hoag, Haverford, Penna.
William Hoag, Boston, Mass.
A. N. Holcombe, Cambridge, Mass.
Lewis C. Hunter, San Francisco, Calif.
Lewis Jerome Johnson, Cambridge, Mass.
William C. Keough, Cleveland, Ohio
Cameron H. King, San Francisco, Calif.
Congressman Clarence F. Lea, Santa Rosa, Calif.
Samuel McCune Lindsay, New York City
Ben B. Lindsey, Los Angeles, Calif.
Walter Lippmann, New York City
Ex-Senator George W. Norris, McCook, Neb.
Ex-Senator Robert L. Owen, Washington, D. C.
Ex-Senator George Wharton Pepper, Philadelphia
Charles H. Porter, Cambridge, Mass.
Jackson H. Ralston, Palo Alto, Calif.
Thomas H. Reed, New York City
Mrs. Raymond Robins, Washington, D. C.
Monsignor John A. Ryan, Washington, D. C.
William J. Schieffelin, New York City
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati, Ohio
Samuel Seabury, New York City
*J. Henry Scattergood, Villa Nova, Penna.
Henry L. Shattuck, Boston, Mass.
Miss Belle Sherwin, Willoughby, Ohio
Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati, Ohio
Carl D. Thompson, Chicago, Ill.
Lent D. Upson, Detroit, Mich.
Henry M. Waite, Washington, D. C.
Senator David I. Walsh, Clinton, Mass.
*Thomas Raeburn White, Philadelphia
William Allen White, Emporia, Kan.
Charles H. Woodward, Philadelphia

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Tax Yields: 1941. Compilation of Tax Collection Statistics for 1941 with Preliminary Tax Data for 1942. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, 1942. xi, 184 pp. 150 tables, 57 charts, $2.50.

This is the fifth in the annual series of compilations of state tax collection statistics prepared by the Tax Institute (formerly the Tax Policy League). The volume presents, in addition to the usual annual data for the last completed fiscal year, a month-to-month comparison of state tax collections for the first five months of 1941 and 1942. Also included, and of special interest to students of taxation at the local level, is a chapter, "Effect of the War on Local Revenues," wherein finance officers of nine cities discuss revenue collection trends for the forepart of 1942 and their expectations for 1943. As in the last several volumes, federal tax collections since 1913 are also detailed, and data are presented for the territories.

An innovation this year in the setup of the volume is the presentation of statistics for each state in a separate section, facing tables and a graph providing the data on a two-page spread so as to obviate the necessity of turning to one table for income tax yields, another for amusement tax yields, etc.

The treatment of governmental revenues which do not fall into the "tax" classification or which the tax economist finds it difficult to classify as tax or non-tax continues troublesome in this volume as in the past. Certain "non-tax" revenues are again excluded and state liquor monopoly profits are again carried in footnotes to the tables and excluded from state totals. This, although by count state liquor store profits produced more than the third most productive **tax** in three states and more than the fourth most productive **tax** in seven states. Perhaps in a future volume the Gordian knot will be cut, and the effort to hold to the tenuous distinction between tax and non-tax revenues abandoned in favor of the fiscally more satisfactory setup where all governmental revenues might be included and all non-governmental or proprietary revenues excluded.

In the meantime, however, those more interested in the fiscal aspects of state collections than in the tax aspects can rely on the footnotes, in a volume which in its broad execution continues excellent.

W. S. S.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Administration

Dynamic Administration. The Collected Papers of Mary Parker Follett. Edited by Henry C. Metcalf and L. Urwick. New York City, Harper & Brothers, 1942. 320 pp. $3.50.

County Government

Modernizing County Government. Portland, Oregon League of Women Voters, 1942. 21 pp.

Crime

Crime—The Causes and Extent of Criminal Behavior; Its Prevention and Treatment. By Thorsten Sellin and Paul R. Busey. Washington, D. C., National Association of Secondary School Principals and National Council for the Social Studies, departments of National Education Association, 1942. 64 pp. 30 cents.

Democracy

Teacher Education in a Democracy at War. By Edward S. Evenden. Washington, D. C., American Council on Education, 1942. vii, 118 pp. 75 cents.

The High School's Obligation to Democracy. The report of a Special Committee. Ann Arbor, Michigan, Classical Association of the Middle West and South, 1942. 16 pp. 10 cents.

Highways

New Hampshire Rural Towns' Comparative Road Burdens and Road Services. By W. Robert Parks and John C. Holmes. Durham, New Hampshire Agricultural Experiment Station, University of New Hampshire, 1942. 50 pp.

Housing

An Appraisal Technique for Urban Problem Areas as a Basis for Housing Policy of Local Governments. Illustrative Results from Three Test Surveys. A Report of the Subcommittee on Appraisal of Residential Areas, Committee on the Hygiene of Housing, and American Public Health Association. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1942. 28 pp. 10 cents.

Law Enforcement

Law Enforcement in Missouri—A Decade of Centralization and Central Control in Apprehension and Prosecution (1931-1941). By J. G. Heinberg and A. C. Breckenridge. Columbia, University of Missouri, 1942. 77 pp. $1.25.

Local Government

The Challenge to Local Government. Round Table Radio Discussion by W. H. Blucher, M. C. Krueger, and W. W. Wyatt. Chicago, University of Chicago, 1942. 26 pp. 10 cents.

Report of the Department of Local Government, State of New Jersey, for the Year 1941. By Walter R. Darby. Trenton, Department of Local Government, 1942. xvi, 598 pp.

Manpower

Manpower. A Summary of the British Experience. By Eric H. Biddle. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1942. viii, 28 pp. 75 cents.

Municipal Government

Municipal Government and the War. Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Conference, Chicago, October 21, 22, 23, 1942. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1942. v, 101 pp. $1.

One Year's Experience of American Cities at War. A Report by the Committee on Wartime Legal Problems of Cities. Washington, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1942. 104 pp. $3.

Personnel

The Occupational Research Program of the United States Employment Service. Including a Report from the Technical Board for the Occupational Research Program to the Secretary of Labor and to the National Research Council, Social Science Research Council, National Occupational Conference, American Youth Commission, and Spelman Fund of New York. By William H. Stead and W. Earl Masincup. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1942. xlvii, 219 pp.

Planning

A Selected List of Recent British Official Publications on Planning. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, Harvard University, 1942. 1 p.

Postwar Planning

Economic Problems of the Postwar World. Democratic Planning for Full Employment. By Alvin H. Hansen and

Laurence E. Leamer. Washington, D. C., National Association of Secondary School Principals and National Council for the Social Studies, Departments of the National Education Association, 1942. 64 pp. 30 cents.

International Economic Development—Public Works and Other Problems. By Lewis L. Lorwin. Washington, D. C., National Resources Planning Board, 1942. iv, 111 pp. 30 cents. (Apply to Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.)

The Modern Government in Action. By Ernest S. Griffith. New York City, Columbia University Press, 1942. vii, 91 pp. $1.

Relief for Europe. The First Phase of Reconstruction. Washington, D. C., National Planning Association, 1942. 59 pp. 25 cents.

State Government

Reorganization Report, State of Montana. Submitted to the Twenty-eighth Legislative Assembly by Governor Sam C. Ford. Helena, 1943. 132 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Federal Tax Legislation in 1942. Edited by Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, 1942. 5 pp. 25 cents.

Fiscal Controls in Wyoming. A Critical Study of Accounting, Budgeting, Reporting, and Purchasing Methods for State Government in Wyoming. Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, 1942. 36 pp.

Governmental Debt in the United States: 1942. By Lynden Mannen. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1942. 15 pp.

A Program for the Use of Tax-Abandoned Lands. Chicago, American Society of Planning Officials, 1942. viii, 38 pp. 50 cents.

A Spendings Tax. Edited by Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, 1942. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Tax-Reverted Properties in Urban Areas. By A. M. Hillhouse and Carl H. Chatters. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1942. viii, 183 pp. $2.50.

Transportation

Meeting Wartime Demands for Passenger Transportation in the New York-New Jersey Metropolitan Area. New York City, Regional Plan Association, 1942. 16 pp. 25 cents.

Local Transportation—War Bibliography. By Dorothy Campbell Tomkins. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1942. 30 pp.

War and Defense

Paying for the War. By Chester D. Babcock, Eber Jeffery, and Archie W. Troelstrup. Washington, D. C., National Council for the Social Studies, a department of the National Education Association, 1942. 69 pp. 30 cents.

Public Documents and World War II. Papers presented before the Committee on Public Documents, American Library Association, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, June 23 and 25, 1942. Edited by Jerome K. Wilcox. Chicago, American Library Association, 1942. 119 pp. $2.

Together We Serve. Voluntary Agencies and the War Program. By Olga Jones. Washington, D. C., U. S. Office of Education, 1942. 22 pp. 15 cents. (Apply to Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.)

U. S. Government Publications and the War. A Selected List. By Carl H. Melinat. Chicago, American Library Association, 1942. 23 pp. 25 cents.